

Arab Ba'th Socialist Party

A SELECTION FROM THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES



Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr

Unity Freedom Socialism



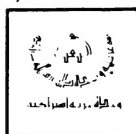
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Editor's Note

The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party regards all Arabs as being part of one nation both in the cultural and spiritual sense. The different countries in which they live, make up a politically and economically united fatherland. In the Party's documents, 'the Arab fatherland' means all the Arab countries. Each of these is a 'qotr' which, literally translated, means country; in the Ba'th context, it should be read as province or region. The adjective 'Quotri' (provincial, regional) is used when referring to an individual country. The adjective 'qawmi' (national), on the other hand, is used when referring to all the countries which together make up the one fatherland. Thus, the National Directorate deals only with matters concerning the whole fatherland. Each Regional Directorate deals with matters within its own country. As for example, the Lebanese or Jordanian Regional Directorate deals with matters within its own country. As for example, the Lebanese or Jordanian Regional Directorate etc.

The word Ba'th can be translated as meaning revival, resurgence or renewal. Hitherto, resurgence seems to be the meaning which is preferred by Arab intellectuals and foreign Arab experts.

Introduction

«The basic theory behind our Foundation resides upon our deep and conscious faith in our nation's civilisation and creative potential to which the course of the centuries bears witness; in its legitimate right to freedom, unity and progress and to regaining its proper place in the society of mankind» It was with these clear and inspiring words that the President of the Iraqi Republic, Mr. Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr, expressed the long-term strategy behind the revolutionary policies carried out in Iraq by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. During the past eight years, the many decisions taken and objectives achieved demonstrate both its nationalist and socialist direction.

The courageous and decisive act of nationalising Iraqi oil had an effect of liberation, unification and realisation of national hopes, and was not restricted to the freeing of the country from the multinational, monopolist companies.

In the year following nationalisation we went to war against the Zionist enemy and set an example of sacrifice and gallantry. After assessing the character of the war, President Al-Bakr called upon the people to fight to regain their rights and sovereignty over Palestine and other occupied Arab territory.

The defeat of the rebellion in the north, led by a group in the pay of foreigners, showed clearly and

definitely that the Revolution was capable of dealing with all types of conspiracy and of striking down all enemies and exploiters of the nation.

These speeches of President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr throw light on the revolutionary progress which started in Iraq in July 1968. They clarify the decision which were taken, demonstrate the rightness of the approach to problems and the principles upon which action was taken. They spell out the overall plan for the ambitious program drawn up by the Party and the authorities who have all proved themselves to be capable of vigorous action.

I

Oil Nationalisation

«In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate».

Citizens of our great Iraqi people,
Members of our Arab nation,
Progressive people everywhere!

The struggle of those people and nations who were, and still are, subject to the humiliation, oppression and exploitation of colonialist powers is a continual one which will only end in the destruction of colonialism's basic aims and foundations. For many years world colonialism has contributed to the oppression, exploitation and division of the Arab nation, weighing them down and sapping their fighting spirit. They had planned to subject this noble nation of ours to the material preservation of their own interests and to the detriment of the future of the Arab people. Ever since the First World War, British colonialism has been one of the most important and specific elements. It incited conspiracies

which divided the Arab nation, handed Palestine over to the Zionists whilst imposing the toughest and most iniquitous conditions in violation of Arab rights, national freedom and the planning for the future. Neo-colonialism which followed, in the form of American imperialism, used the same techniques and improved upon them. It has never abandoned its stated aggressive posture against the Arabs. Undoubtedly, the basic reason for this posture is material interest which seeks to plunder and exploit our oil and mineral resources for the profit of imperialism and the monopolies.

Apart from this policy of plunder, there is a parallel one which seeks to continue to divide the Arab homeland by exploiting the basic interests of the people in order to strengthen the Zionist and imperialistic presence in Palestine, the Arab Gulf and other occupied territories.

The most important motivating fact for the July 17th Revolution, led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, was the urge to react to the defeat of June 5th 1967. From the very beginning, therefore, it was essential that the Revolution should set out in broad outline, with foresight and determination, the policies to be followed for the patriotic national struggle and for the bringing to reality the wishes of the people. In a short space of time, and acting upon these principles the Revolution was able to make important progress such as: the consolidation of national independence and the guaranteeing of the people's liberties and rights; the creation of an atmosphere in which the nation could carry out its main duties for the patriotic national struggle.

In addition to the material benefits, there were other changes of a democratic and qualitative kind such as the granting of their national rights to the Kurdish people, the guarantees given to other minority groups to practise their cultural traditions and the promulgation of the National Action Charter; this latter clearly defined the basis for progressive national unity, the direct control and management of oil reserves and the guide-lines for inter-party agreement relevant to the needs of the time.

A new direction in international relations followed the July 17th Revolution's courageous actions in developing relationships with Socialist countries and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union. All these initiatives were not designed to please the colonialists, Zionists and their accomplices, so it was not surprising that they should start hatching plots and putting pressure on the Revolution. But the only effect of their efforts was to strengthen its resolve to take further action in the people's interests, to intensify the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and to press on towards the unification of Iraq, an essential stage for providing an unshakeable foundation for Arab unity. It was because of this that the Revolution concentrated all its strength and possibilities on striking a decisive blow at the heart of the colonial interests.

Citizens of our great nation!

You well know that the oil companies are the most effective weapon in the colonialist policy of plunder, monopoly control and the exploitation of nations. They have always been the symbol and manifestation of colonial domination; this is why, to-day, no national liberation can be completed unless these companies are brought within the nation's control. The monopolies nature is such that they hinder the progress of nations and act in a way contrary to the people's interests, the trend of History and the needs of the times.

These companies, in fact, regard themselves as being a State within the State. But the people now well know, thanks to their practical experience, that the way to build a solid base for national and economic independence can only take the form of confrontation with the companies to bring oil and mineral resources under direct national control in the interests of the country. With the strong and unconditional approach of the people, the Revolution settled its affairs with the oil

companies who had tried to byepass Law No. 80 on nationalisation and to put pressure on the exercise of its rightful will. When they found themselves opposed by the government, the oil companies tried to carry out a flagrant colonialist trick. They reduced oil production to a level never before seen in Iraq or in any other producing country in order to bring on an economic and financial crisis and thereby force the Revolution to retreat. However, all these tricks and manoeuvres, designed to impede the reinforcement of national unity which the Revolution was trying to achieve, had no effect on our determination to continue with energy the fight for freedom with these companies. On May 17th the companies received the ultimatum and realised that the Revolution was determined, without conditions, to establish its control over the oil. The monopolies put forward no new proposal which would take account of our country's interests by the date fixed by the ultimatum and thereby demonstrated their contempt for the law and for the people's demands.

It was then that the Revolutionary Command Council, in the name of the nation, promulgated Law No. 69 of 1972, nationalising the Iraq Petroleum Company to come into effect immediately, that is to say to-day, June 1st 1972.

Citizens of our great nation!

The fight which we are carrying on with the oil companies can rightfully be described as an historical one; it marks a new phase during which the strength and steadfastness of the national and progressive parties and people will be put to the test. We will have to make very great sacrifices. The nation will have to show the world that it cannot be humiliated or unnerved, that it is inured to this combat and has undergone the sternest trials aswell as teaching imperialism a sharp lesson. You

are the people of July, the people who would not accept the June 5th defeat and who to-day say to the oil companies —«Hands off our oil!» You are the people who want the oil to be a guarantee of security, of social progress and the patriotic struggle for a free and worthy life.

Citizens of our glorious nation!

To-day we have proved to imperialism and the oil companies that the will of the nation and the Revolution is stronger than theirs. It is because we have stood up to them and refused to give in that we can now set the watchwords for the next stage and bring them to fruition through our capacity to give up the unimportant for the important and to eschew luxury in order to carry on the fight. Vigilance, caution and unity will be necessary to foil the imperialistic conspiracies and to win us victory, these are the words which we must constantly keep in front of our people's eyes to bring it to a shining reality.

This historic battle is not being fought by an isolated political group; it is one which all parties and national organisations, professional and working class associations and all men of goodwill participate. It is not exclusive to one social class but a national fight to which all classes have the privilege of joining.

It is a fight by nations and the Arab homeland towards the throwing off of the shackles of the monopolies and imperialist rule, and to rid ourselves of the Zionist presence.

Comrades, progressive people of the Arab nation and the whole world!

By its opposition to the oil companies, and thus doing its noble duty to the nation, the Revolution is in the front line of the fight against imperialism and its

supporters. It knows what kind of fight it is and what the consequences will be, but at the same time it has the support of the people of goodwill and of our friends in the world. Our patriotic national fight has chosen its position in the front line of the offensive and defensive positions of the Arab worldwide Revolutions. It is for this reason that we enjoy the maximum support and encouragement.

Our fighting people and our glorious Arab nation, with the strength of its human resources, will be able to impose their will on the colonial monopolies. From now on imperialism and its accomplices will have to respite in any part of our Arab homeland.

Iraqi fighters, constant in battle!

Thanks to your goodwill, your generosity, your sacrifices, your frugality and your determination to establish your right to freedom and a worthwhile life, we have won the battle. Our strength has come from your steadfastness and your strength as well as from the memory of the Arab martyrs, killed by imperialism and Zionism, who are at rest in our dear homeland in Iraq, in Sinai, Golan, Jerusalem and elsewhere.

Glorious nation!

Once more we say that we are men who are fully committed to our vocation for freedom, unity and progress; we will be in the front line of future battles with no thought of bargaining or indecision. We will defend your nationhood, your honour and your rights; we will fight against, with every means at our disposal, injustice, exploitation and oppression anywhere in our country; we will safeguard our progress and keep our promises.

Forward! Forward on the road towards the fulfilment of the aims of our Arab people; of Unity, Freedom and Socialism.

II

The victory proclamation of the nationalisation Battle

Citizens,
Arab fighters,
Progressive movements of the world,
People of our great nation,
Greetings!

On the first of June 1972, the Revolutionary Command Council, strengthened by your unshakeable faith, determination and continual support, took in your name the historic decision to nationalise the operations of the Iraq Petroleum Company. By so doing, the Revolution entered into a patriotic war of a toughness and scale never before experienced by the Iraq people or even by the Arab nation. A war with a strong and well armed enemy; for the monopolies for many years believed that they were in control of the situation in all the producing countries. As you know, the monopolies are the pillar of the imperialistic interests in the area, around which all their conspiracies and manoeuvres revolve.

Your Revolution took the decision without hesitation, for it is truly a Revolution of the people and expresses their hopes and patriotic ambitions. It fights hard to make them a reality because it is deeply convinced that it can join any battle and win because the people confidently support it and are ready to make any sacrifices in

order to do so. Striking proof of this was given during the period between the delivery of the ultimatum to the oil companies and the nationalisation decree.

Shortly before our historic decision, the oil companies, reactionary colonialists and others who had no confidence in our people, thought that the revolutionary authorities would not dare to throw down this challenge. Even when we issued the nationalisation decree, our surprised detractors did not change their minds and told their masters that the revolution was on a dangerous path fraught with unforeseeable consequences. They then began to advise surrender while putting forward proposals for humiliating compromises coupled with open threats.

But the Revolution was well aware of all the political and economic implications as well as the importance of the risks involved and felt itself to be fully in control of its actions and of the situation.

When on July 17th 1968 the Revolution, led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, took place, it announced its long term strategic objectives both for Iraq and for the Arab nation. Subsequent action has fitted in to an all-embracing plan according to a logical and sensible program designed to achieve the primary objectives, the most important of which was the liberation of our oil wealth.

Nationalisation was not simply an isolated adventure. It was a decisive step in the revolutionary program which began on July 17th and 30th 1968. Previous steps to this historic act were: the elimination of the espionage networks, the traitors and the conspirators, the preliminary moves for the direct national management of oil and sulphur, the strengthening of the role to be played by the people and progressive organisations, the major changes in the countryside in the shape of agrarian reform; the guarantee of the rights of the working classes in order to allow them to play their part in our society; the democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem, the setting up of the base a Progressive and

Patriotic National Front as laid down in the National Action Charter and which would be truly of a patriotic character. The nationalisation decree also stemmed from faith in the unity of the struggle, in the destiny and interests of the Arab nation and the conviction that all action must be concerted towards the liberation of occupied Arab territories. In fact, part of the preliminary activity, was to set in motion a common Arab program for the total liberation of our great homeland. Similar efforts were made by the Revolution to reinforce Iraq's relations with progressive movements throughout the world, with the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, in the form of friendship and cooperation. These efforts were directed towards developing these relations into a strategic alliance, such as has been successfully achieved by the Iraq-Soviet agreement.

Fellow Citizens

We are able to act from a position of strength and to feel ourselves to be invulnerable because we have an unshakeable faith in our people whose powers of resistance and willingness to make sacrifices for a worthy cause are well known to us. It is also because we know we can count upon the support of the militant Arab nation, of progressive forces in the world, of friendly socialist countries and of the free peoples of the Third World.

Our forecasts were correct; workers, peasants, civil servants, the armed forces, and all the other classes of society have firmly declared their determination to share the burden of the fight. All the progressive and national parties and organisations clearly expressed their intention of cooperating with the revolutionary authorities in order to ensure the complete success of the measure. Throughout the entire Arab homeland demonstrations of support on a large scale encouraged our efforts. Arab peoples and progressive movements regarded the nationalisation struggle as being their own. They fully realised

that the nationalisation of oil in Iraq represented a giant step forward on the road to freedom for the entire Arab nation.

Pledges of support flooded in from many other parts of the world. All tried as best they could to explain our case to world public opinion. We were able, therefore, to make capital out of the world-wide sympathy which we enjoyed. The socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, gave us unselfish support. They made offers of help in all sectors and our cooperation with them has been extremely beneficial to us. The French Government showed its understanding of our position, since its interests had been protected, and has entered into a useful cooperation with us.

During the last nine glorious months, slowly but surely we have been able to break the blockade on the marketing of our oil. We have made an agreement to sell a proportion of our nationalised oil to the Soviet Union. A further proportion is being sold to France and other countries of Western Europe. Finally we have made other agreements with individual oil companies which are not under the control of the large international trusts. Hardly a few months after nationalisation, more than two-thirds of our oil was flowing onto the international market through the Baniyas pipeline which was working at full capacity. Orders are currently increasing and come from all areas.

With the success of nationalisation, the oil companies gave up hope of causing it to fail or to cancel out its effect. They entered into direct negotiation with the Revolutionary Government. For them it was the only means of avoiding a total loss and of obtaining legally what had been set out in the terms of the decree promulgated by the Revolutionary Command Council on June 1st 1972, in other words, the compensation for their nationalised installations on conditions that they acceded to Iraq's demands and agreed to fulfil these obligations which had been ignored for a very long time.

From the very beginning we had defined the princi-

ples upon which any negotiations would be based: the respect, both in the spirit and the letter of Law No. 69 of 1972, and Law No. 80 of 1961, the satisfaction of the long-ignored, but rightful demands of Iraq; the payment of compensation as stipulated in the nationalisation decree.

During the course of the complicated and delicate negotiations, the oil companies and others tried to put pressure on us and take advantage of our economic difficulties. Their intention was to force us to surrender or to make a compromise to their advantage and against our rights and interests. But we categorically rejected this possibility and openly stated that our intention was to reach a just and equitable settlement which took account of everybody's rights. There could, in any case, never have been question of our giving up our rights or our intention to have full control over our oil wealth. We were determined to follow the program drawn up by the Revolutionary Council. We had taken account of the worst possibilities and to protect our rear, we only had our faith in the people with their powers of resistance and willingness to make sacrifices. Thanks to our firm unequivocal attitude none of the manoeuvres and pressures exerted by the companies (aswell as by others) had any effect on us. The revolutionary authorities were able to unmask them so that they could not harm us through the nationalisation decree itself. With this success and with the growing demand for oil on the international market, the companies had no other choice but to give in and agree to honour our legal rights and our demands. We therefore reached an agreement which gave us full control over our wealth and conceded all those rights of which we had been deprived for many long years, not forgetting our undertaking to compensate the nationalised companies.

The text of the agreement was based on the Iraqi laws concerned with oil and the oil industry, notably Law No. 80 of 1961 and Law No. 69 of 1972. This agreement will be published so that you can discuss it and judge it

for yourselves. The main points can be summarised as follows:

1) The nationalised companies undertake to pay the sum of 141 million to the Iraqi Government to settle their debts which had accumulated over many years.

2) Iraq undertakes for her part to deliver 15 million tons of crude oil to the Mediterranean ports as compensation for the nationalised companies. Following delivery of this crude oil, the companies undertake to abandon all their claims in connection with the Northern and Southern oilfields.

3) The companies must transfer all their shares in the Mozal oil company to the Iraqi Government without compensation.

4) The companies undertake, as a matter of urgency, to draw up a plan for increasing production from the Basra Petroleum Company's oilfields to a level of 80 million tons per annum between now and 1976.

5) With the agreement of the Lebanese Government, the companies agree to sell to the Iraqi Government the pipeline which crosses Lebanese territory, and the port refinery at Tripoli. The price of the pipeline is covered by the 15 million tons of crude which the Iraqi Government will supply to the companies.

People of our great nation,
Citizens of our glorious Arab homeland!

To-day, after nine months tough struggle we can say that we have won the nationalisation battle. This battle and its consequences contain an important lesson for our people and for the whole Arab nation. It is one which we must always remember to guide us on the road to victory over imperialism and Zionism. In spite of the domination of imperialism, the strength of its institutions and the means at its disposal for pursuing an aggressive policy, it is the people who possess the real power when they are led by legal and sincere revolutionaries. When a nation decides to control its own destiny and has at its

head a determined revolutionary government which is working to a logical plan with allies who serve its interests and objectives, then victory is inevitably on the side of the people no matter how hard the fight and how high the cost.

Fellow Citizens

Congratulations on this victory and for the important gains which it has brought us. Thanks to your determination and your confidence in the future, you have reached a major part of your main objectives. You have confirmed what we said on June 1st that the fight with the oil monopolies is one of the great battles of history which will always be remembered. This battle signifies the changeover to another stage of the Revolution, a stage in which once again the determination of the people and all progressive national forces will be put to the test.

We pay our respects to you for all the sacrifices which you have made. We thank all the workers, farmers and civil servants who, with their families, have shared the burden of the battle.

Our thanks to those who went as far as giving up part of their daily bread to make certain of victory for their country in a battle in which they were faced with wild beasts. Our thanks to the farmers who did their best to increase production and thus support the national economy. Our thanks to those at all levels who, by bravely putting up with the difficult conditions which the country was going through, helped everybody's morale. Our thanks again for the moral and material support which you gave to the revolutionary authorities and which helped them to act, even in the most difficult periods, with sureness and great determination. You have kept your promises and the revolutionary Leadership, which had your unshakeable support in the most difficult moments, knows to-day that it has a striking force which can come up with all the enemies of our

country and of the whole Arab nation and, by diminishing their strength, prepare a firm path towards the achievement of freedom, dignity, unity and progress.

To-day the revolutionary authorities affirm that they will keep the promises made when they called for your sacrifice and resistance: they have decided to repay all the sacrifices and efforts which you have made. The Revolutionary Command Council has decided to cancel the deductions from salaried employees, and to start repaying the amounts deducted in the same percentages and over a similar period of time, starting on April 1st. And our thanks again to all those who made this sacrifice.

It is also our pleasant duty, fellow citizens, to offer our fraternal thanks to the Arab peoples, to the progressive parties, to the politicians and political parties, who with words and deeds supported our cause. We should also offer our thanks and acknowledgements to all those international organisations who arranged conferences and published communiqués explaining and supporting our cause. We should mention especially the World Council for Peace and the Organisation for Afro-Asian Solidarity as well as those progressive organisations and individuals every-where in the world who gave us their support in the battle.

Our thanks also to our friends in the socialist countries, in the first place to the Soviet Union, who gave us their unselfish and helpful support and cooperation.

Fellow citizens

Now that the victory fight is over, we feel that our foundations are solid and secure, thanks to your unwavering support, your iron-willed determination and the generous sacrifices which you have made. But we should not forget, even at this moment, that there is still a long road ahead. Difficult and complex problems are in front of us which will demand your steadfastness, sacrifice and

solidarity. We have to build a modern State on the principles of freedom, progress and democracy. We must strengthen our national unity, continue all our efforts to create the National Progressive Patriotic Front, and, finally, ensure the well-being of the working people of our country. Another great task, which for us is a sacred national duty, will demand even greater sacrifice and endurance; it is to confront the imperialist Zionist usurper and free from its claws the occupied Arab territories. It will need a lot of courage, determination and sacrifices to carry this through.

But henceforth we are already convinced that we can carry it through with the same success as the oil battle.

Again I reiterate all my thanks for your efforts and my congratulations on your victory. Without doubt, we shall meet again on other battlefields which, by the Grace of God, will always be victorious for us.

III

The Speech of President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr on the Fith Anniversary of the July 17th 1968 Revolution

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate

Fellow Countrymen,

Your great revolution which was born on July 17th 1968 under the leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, to-day reaches its fifth anniversary with high confidence and vitality and is entering its sixth year with the same confidence and energy.

On this historic day, we do well to cast a critical eye on the progress of the last five years and to assess in a revolutionary and objective way what has been achieved over this period; to draw from the successes and the attacks those lessons which should be borne in mind during the journey along the road ahead of us.

The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party has led the process of revolutionary change in crucial and difficult circumstances on both the regional and national levels. The July 17th revolution took place ten years after the first national revolution of July 14th 1958.

That glorious revolution which aroused the enthusiasm of the people and opened up bright hopes for the progressive and patriotic movements in our country and the Arab homeland, was diverted from its patriotic, nationalist and democratic course. Its leadership, which

in the beginning included representatives of all the patriotic movements, changed into a dictatorship hostile and oppressive to the people and to the progressive patriotic movements.

On February 8th 1963 another revolution broke out. This was a well-meant attempt on the part of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party to rectify the course of the July 1958 revolution.

It failed however, and a counter-revolution took place on November 8th 1963. As a result, the conditions of the country deteriorated and the perils of imperialist influence and penetration intensified.

Reactionaries and parasites used dictatorial methods against the people, progressive parties and revolutionary ideas. In addition, the crisis over the country's national unity became further aggravated, the Kurdish issue being unresolved and becoming more complicated, a situation which had unwelcome repercussions on the political, economic and psychological health of the country.

The July 17th revolution came into being at the time of the defeat inflicted on the Arabs on June 5th 1967 and in the context of the serious political and military climate resulting from it, and the psychological shock to the Arab peoples.

A reaction to the defeat

The July 17th Revolution was a reaction, at regional and national levels, to the climate, circumstances and grounds surrounding the defeat and the collapse. It was an original and bona fide attempt to open up a new avenue for the Iraqi patriotic movement and the Arab revolutionary movement compatible with the aims and principles of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, with the decisions taken by the national and regional congresses and with the principles and aims of the progressive patriotic movements in Irak and the Arab homeland.

It was therefore incumbent upon the July 17th Revolution —as set out in the National Action Charter—to draw up and execute a plan designed to complete the assignment entrusted to the July 14th 1958 revolution, resume its advance and correct the errors which had been made; to go ahead with new patriotic, national and democratic objectives, to begin the progress towards social justice and national unity and to set the stage for the transition to socialism.

It was also incumbent upon the revolution, from its very first days, to contribute, with all the means at its disposal, towards the national war against the Zionist enemy and its ally, imperialism; to draw up a battle plan condemning the use of bargaining and of liquidisation solutions and relying on the one hand on the Arab people with their fighting potential and revolutionary organisations, and on the other hand giving overall support to the Palestine resistance movement while putting all the resources of the national Arab governments into the battle for liberation.

The tasks of the Revolution

The most important of the tasks which the Revolution set itself, at a regional level, from the beginning and over the last five years were:

- 1) The intensification of the struggle against the vestiges of colonial domination, against the conspiracies of the reactionaries in foreign pay, and against the adventurist methods which had left their imprint on the country's political life in the pre-revolutionary era.

- 2) The firm intention to bring to completion the country's economic independence by freeing the most important national wealth of Iraq oil, from the control, exploitation and wastage by the foreign monopolies; to eliminate economic under-development and start a comprehensive economic revolution for the country's development along socialist lines.

3) The patient, rational and persevering work to remove the causes and effects of the negative relationships which had existed for many years between the various national, progressive and patriotic parties and organisations, and which had assumed serious dimensions, in order to help create a national progressive front.

4) The peaceful, democratic revolution of the Kurdish problem in a manner which cemented national unity by guaranteeing the national rights of the Kurdish people and of other minorities who live in security with their fellow citizens. The building up of relationships bases upon fraternity, mutual help and complete loyalty to the country.

5) The strengthening and development of the leading role of the working class in the political and economic life of the country, of the role of the trade unions and their dependant institutions; the legal guarantee of trade union freedom, minimum wages and the improvement of working conditions.

6) The freeing of the agricultural class from the remnants of the political, economic and social effects of feudalism and parasitic exploiters. The reinforcement of the leading role of the agricultural cooperatives in the political area and in increasing production. The development of agriculture on a national scale through suitable irrigation and drainage schemes. Increasing production by greater mechanisation and the use of modern scientific technology. Radical changes in the revenue from production, of a socialist type, should also help to bring about the improvements which we have planned in this area.

7) The reinforcement and development of the part to be played by student and women's organisations and by the social, professional and cultural groups in encouraging widespread popular involvement and the practice of democratic methods.

8) The build-up of the national armed forces by the most modern and advanced techniques. Officers and

other ranks must be the defenders of our revolutionary socialist and patriotic ideology. The study of military strategy and techniques must be enhanced. The most modern and effective equipment will enable our valiant army to be the shield of our independence and defence against aggression. The army will be able to fulfil its sacred national duty by taking part in the liberation of the occupied Arab territories. For our officers and men are constantly thinking of this and are ready to make the heaviest sacrifices for it.

9) The carrying out of drastic and widespread reforms in the structure of the State and its establishments and institutions where symptoms of disorganisation, corruption and bureaucracy as well as a poor sense of duty have become evident. The reform and drafting of laws in conformity with the ideology and social democratic objectives of the Revolution.

10) The completion of industrial projects which had been blocked. The widening of the country's industrial base by the introduction of new and advanced sectors; for the revolution is convinced that the industrial base of the country is an essential element in the transition to socialism. The development of the oil and metallurgy industries, therefore, will be one of the main pillars of Iraq's economic independence, her construction of socialism and her technological progress.

11) The eradication of illiteracy; the spreading of culture and education adapted to the needs and requirements of the country's progress; the promotion of the arts; undertaking public health projects which would provide the maximum of medical care to the people; pushing through service, housing, communication and other projects destined to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the mass of the people, with the aim of building a socialist society based upon justice and prosperity.

12) The reversal of the negative relationship which had grown up between the people and government officials over centuries of despotic and dictatorial rule; and

the eradication of the unpleasant consequences. The enhancement of the citizen's confidence in himself, in his sense of responsibility and his patriotic sentiments; the encouragement of mutual cooperation and a team spirit both in normal life and in State enterprises; the stimulation of a joy in work and in the increase of productivity.

A difficult struggle

Fellow countrymen,

Your Revolution, under the leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, with the support of the patriotic and national progressive movements and the cooperation of all men of goodwill, has had to struggle hard and exert immense and tiring efforts to carry out all these difficult and complicated tasks in the shortest possible time and in the best possible way.

It is true that the Revolution and its leading party is always modest in its claims and after each achievement and each victory has maintained that we were only at the beginning of the road; but to-day, as we complete the fifth year of our victorious revolutionary journey, we have the right to feel justifiably happy and proud of the Revolution's achievements and to look to the future with confidence and optimism.

The Revolution's struggle over the last five years against the vestiges of colonial domination has been conclusively victorious. To-day we have the right to say, and we say it with pride, that Iraq is free; she has now become the base for revolution and progress after having been the target for colonialism and the open field for its influence and evil designs. The Revolution, thanks to the leadership of its militant party, to the support of the patriotic and national progressive movements and to the enthusiasm of the people, has succeeded in stamping out

the hope of the reactionaries to destroy the future of our struggling country.

In Iraq today power is in the hands of the Revolution and will remain so for ever. It is in the hands of the working people, and there will never again be any place or any hope for those adventurers who think that they can exploit certain situations or certain set-backs to achieve their vile objectives.

Your Revolution, led by the people's party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and with the support of the loyal patriotic movements, has succeeded in building an unshakeable popular revolutionary power which is entirely immune to conspiracies and adventurism.

Internally, the past five years have seen energetic and honest efforts to bring the patriotic and progressive national front into being.

On this subject November 15th 1971 was an important landmark. On that date, the regional leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party put forward the draft of the National Action Charter for free democratic discussion by the people, the political parties and the progressive movements. This democratic dialogue took place in the press, at public meetings and in direct contacts between the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party, the Iraqi Communist Party and the patriotic and progressive nationalist movements.

It should be emphasised here that the continuation of the debate and discussions, even though sometimes it was sterile, showed that there was a sincere wish to improve and develop an understanding between the various political groups.

What we are not after is a front which appears to-day and disintegrates tomorrow... we want a solid permanent front with wide horizons and long term strategic aims.

We want it to be an example to all patriotic and progressive Arab movements.

The Revolution published an historic manifesto on March 11th 1970 for the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish issue; it was the fruit of a

whole series of efforts and achievements to guarantee the national rights of our Kurdish countrymen, as was the wide-ranging and frank dialogue which was established between the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party. This has been supported by all the patriotic and progressive national movements.

The March manifesto

The March 11th manifesto provides the round and comprehensive framework for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue. It has won unanimous support from our progressive Arab and Kurdish movements, from the people as well as from the forces of freedom and progress in the Arab homeland and in the world at large.

During the past three and a half years —that is from the publication of the manifesto up until to-day— there have been active and large-scale endeavours to apply its clauses. One can say that the major part of the clauses have been carried out as far as the matter concerns the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and the Revolutionary government.

Regrettably however, during this same time there were a number of disappointing events, acute crises and mistakes which were prejudicial to the unity of the country and to a limited extent impeded the proceedings for a democratic and peaceful solution of the Kurdish issue. One could also observe that there was hesitation in carrying out the reciprocal agreements contained in the manifesto. To-day this collection of circumstances has created an abnormal situation which could have dangerous and damaging consequences. While not denying that some mistakes and crises were caused by certain State institutions and by some chauvinists and deviationists, we must also say that our brothers in the Kurdish Democratic Party must bear their share of the responsibility.

We say this to them because of our affection and our burning desire to see them act swiftly and conscientiously to eradicate these abnormal circumstances, to consolidate the unification of the country in both form and substance, to put a definite end to the intrigues of the colonialists and reactionaries who try to fish in troubled waters, and who intrigue in order to strike a blow against the achievements of the Revolution —achievements which realise the hopes and aims of the Arab and Kurdish people and all the minorities who are living together in a spirit of brotherhood.

The promise made by the Revolution and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and set out in the manifesto of March 11th, for a democratic and peaceful solution of the Kurdish issue is a firm and unconditional promise which will not change. The sixth year of the July 17th Revolution will see the full application of all clauses of the manifesto including self-rule for our Kurdish people within the Iraqi Republic. We are firmly convinced, in spite of the setbacks and the current abnormal situation, that our Arab, Kurdish and minority groups, together with the patriotic and progressive national movements, are capable of finding a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question in a way which will reinforce the ties of brotherhood between the sons of the same motherland and thus strengthen national unity and sovereignty.

During the last five years the Revolution has been waging a tough war against the foreign monopolies which controlled our oil wealth, ignored our interests and denied us our legal rights.

We succeeded in the first year of our Revolution in laying the foundations for the national management of our sulphur with the help of our Polish friends. With the help of our Russian friends we set in motion the national control of oil from those oilfields specified in Law N.º 80.

At the beginning of 1972, for the first time in the history of Iraq, the national control and exploitation of our sulphur became a true reality. On April 7th of the

same year and on the 25th anniversary celebrations of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party the national management of oil, again for the first time in history, became a reality.

On June 1st last year the Revolution fulfilled its promise of opening up a battle, which was both violent and on a large scale, against the monopolies by nationalising the operations of the Iraq Petroleum Company.

They thought that this was an adventure which was bound to fail. But you, you have the proof that, far from being a dangerous exercise, it was a successful and justifiable revolutionary act. The Iraqi people have shown that they are not backward in self-sacrifice when it is a question of a patriotic national struggle. The same applies to all the Arab peoples who have proved capable of backing up every success. Furthermore, this period has given proof of the confidence we have had in the ties between our people and Revolution and the progressive socialist movements in the world, with in the forefront our friend the Soviet Union; in fact these allies provided us with genuine and helpful aid.

Nationalisation

On March 1st 1973 we succeeded in bringing to their knees the companies who formerly had treated us with the utmost arrogance.

Firstly, we forced them to accept nationalisation and to recognise the legal rights which they had denied us for so many years, and secondly, we forced them to increase production in the southern oilfields, as planned by the Revolution, in order to increase our income and thereby help our national development.

Fellow countrymen

The strategy of the overall development plan aimed at self-sufficiency and a fair distribution of wealth can be

summed up as being the build-up of a diversified and mutually complementary national economy free from all the impediments of foreign dependence. This build-up consists especially of the complete independence of our oil wealth; of the expansion of the public sector in order to provide a lasting foundation for socialist development; of giving support to the private sector so that, following the State directives, it may contribute effectively to the country's economy; of the undertaking of a revolutionary reform of agriculture. All these activities form part of the continual and serious attempt to coordinate with and complement the economies of the Arab States. The Revolution has implemented this strategy in the form of many projects in the areas of agriculture, the oil and petrotechnical industries, light and heavy industry. As well as in the service area of health, education, transport and telecommunications. The execution of these is included in the 1970-1974 national development plan.

New dimensions

The Revolution has opened up new horizons for the economic and social development of the country with deeper implications and a wider scope than those of the pre-July 1968 period. Scientific planning has been used as the instrument to speed up the development of the economy, the national income and the standard of living, and whereby income and resources can be spread over all social classes and all parts of the country. This will allow difficult regions to develop economically and socially in a balanced evolution for the people in the short, medium and long term.

A study of the main points will enable one to have an overall view of the social and economic developments carried out by the Revolution over the last five years, and these are indeed impressive. This is enhancing confidence in the Revolutionary Government which is trying to make Iraq into a modern developed country.

National incomes rose from 757 million dinars in 1967 to 1,250 million dinars in 1972. It is expected to reach a level of 1,500 million dinars by the end of the current plan, that is at the end of 1974. During the few years that have passed since the Revolution, the national income has registered an increase never before experienced in the history of our country; the growth rate has increased from less than 8 % before the Revolution to more than 10 %. This high growth rate of the Iraqi economy is reflected in per capita income which has increased from 88 dinars in 1967 to 124 dinars in 1972 and which will probably reach 140 dinars by the end of the current development plan.

In 1967 the number of persons working in the various economic sectors stood at 2,360,000. In 1972 this had risen to 2,850,000, and is expected, from the forecasts, to reach about 3,200,000 in 1974. The total wage bill has gone up from about 218 million dinars in 1967 to 320 million dinars in 1972 and will probably reach 370 million in 1974.

Public consumption has also increased from about 450 million dinars in 1967 to about 680 million dinars in 1971 and is expected to reach about 880 million dinars in 1974 at the end of the development plan.

This rapid development could not have been achieved without the State's resources having been directed into productive investments. Investment allocations for development projects are many times greater than the similar budgets for the pre-Revolution period. In the previous five year plan (1965-1969) investment allocations were only 640 million dinars, whereas those for the current plan, 1970-1974, are in the order of 1560 million dinars. In the investment program for this year, in the public sector alone, the figure is 310 million dinars, a record figure for all investment programs in Iraq.

The balance-sheet of the experiment

The experiment of the last five years has prepared the way for a total economic revolution in the country. It has been possible to prepare long term plans for production, consumption and investment which set the stage for the revolution's vision of the future.

Work has already begun on drawing up the next national development plan for the years 1975 to 1979, which will put into effect the Revolution's ambition to enable the people to attain the highest levels of welfare.

Under the July 17th Revolution the farmworking class has been freed from feudal political, economic and social domination. To-day there is an active and far-reaching operation to free them from all the forms of exploitation and extortion current in rural areas. Furthermore, agricultural cooperatives are playing an important role in spreading political consciousness and stimulating interest in modern production techniques.

The new Agrarian Reform Law No. 117 of 1970, promulgated to redress the shortcomings of existing laws, was a turning point in the life of the Iraqi farmworkers and the country's future as well as the real beginning of the agrarian revolution. To back up this law, the Revolution set in motion administrative and organisational measures side by side with an ambitious investment policy which gave priority to the agricultural sector within the overall investment plan.

The principle aim of the Revolution was to develop a modern form of agriculture by the introduction of mechanisation, chemical fertilisers, high-yield straws, agricultural training and credit, and the use of modern marketing methods. In addition there were the major projects such as dams, irrigation and drainage schemes and land reclamation.

Plans have been prepared for the construction of four large dams, which apart from electricity generation, will provide irrigation and minimise the risk of floods; in addition more than 12 million deunams of land (approx.

300,000 acres) will be brought under cultivation throughout Iraq by extending the irrigation and drainage networks. Projects are either under construction or planning for increasing grain storage capacity from the pre-Revolution figure of 160 thousand tons to 930 thousand tons during the next few years.

The revolutionary government is also planning for major expansion in livestock production and fishing resources; market gardening will be expanded and diversified, forestry increased as well as other investments required to meet the needs of the agricultural community. In addition, large rural centres will be created, equipped to provide all kinds of agricultural services. It should be also noted that the plan for setting up farming cooperatives involved the regrouping of 20,400 families and this year will affect 15,000 families.

The Iraqi countryside is now in the opening phases of socialist agriculture. During the last few years farming cooperatives and State farms have multiplied and are now an important and efficient basis for agricultural production.

Thanks to the Revolution, we can safely say to-day that we have, with great energy and on a large scale, begun the construction of the country's industrial base.

Over the last five years industries which were at a stand still such as those of glass manufacture, sugar, textiles, sulphur extraction, the mechanical industries and others, are now in production; new factories have been built. Large sums have been earmarked for industrial investment. For instance there is the study of new projects to produce about one million tons of steel, the construction of a petrochemical plant with a capacity of 120,000 tons which will produce 700 thousand tons of chemical fertilisers, 300 thousand sets of rubber tyres and tubes, as well as other new products to be made for the first time in Iraq.

The Revolution also aims to step up current production capacity and, particularly, in the food, chemical, technical and constructural material industries.

In 1973 the total output of the public sector under the management of the Ministry for Industry was about 135 million dinars, whereas before the Revolution it was 51 million dinars.

We are looking with confidence towards the future of industrialisation in our country, to the capacity of our factories to develop and reach a high degree of self-sufficiency, and to the economic integration with other Arab countries.

We also have confidence in the future of Iraqi industrial exports which have made considerable progress in recent years.

In the field of electric power, output was 540 megawatts before the Revolution and in 1973 was 744 megawatts, and at the present time, projects for electric power total 360 megawatts. High-tension power lines, which before the Revolution had a length of 3080 kms., are in 1973 4118 kms. long.

In foreign trade, the government has laid down policies designed to change the structure of Iraq's trade balance in order to increase exports of consumer goods. In 1973 the total value exceeded 23 million dinars, whereas it was around 21 million dinars in 1968. This is in addition to the increased export of crude oil by the Iraqi National Oil Company and the Iraqi Company for Oil Operations.

The Revolution has laid the foundations for changing the import trade structure in the interests of economic development projects and their expansion.

Fellow countrymen,

The Revolution is using long term planning techniques in order to bring about radical change in the national economy and thereby to increase per capita income and the bringing of power to every citizen.

Our Ambitions

Among other ambitions of the Revolution is that of injecting our scientific and technological experience into all sectors of the national economy in order to build a modern developed economy which takes into consideration the social and cultural requirements of the country. This is why the Revolution is about to initiate the use of science and scientific research in all the development plans. The institutes for specialised planning have begun working on a five year plan for science and technology which will be an integral part of the long term plan.

Over the past five years since the Revolution, the political, economic and social role played by the working class has become more important both through the leading party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, and its active trade union organisations.

Trade unions to-day are, for the first time in our history, taking an energetic lead in stimulating output and have made major and constructive contributions to the political, economic and social changes in the country.

The Revolution has guaranteed to this class the legal rights for the free exercise of its trade union activities as well as the best possible living and working conditions under present circumstances.

The Revolution, naturally, depends upon the workers and toilers of the nation and will continue to develop its role and improve its living conditions; for the working class is the valiant, militant group amongst the mass of the people, and its interests are embodied in the socialist system —the system which the Revolution and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party are struggling to achieve.

Under the Revolution the part played by student and women's organisations, professional and social organisations and associations has increased in importance. Legislation ensures that all members enjoy the freedom of association as well as important professional advantages. These organisations are actively reinforcing demo-

cratic procedures, tackling the country's problems and thus rolling forward the wheel of progress.

To-day, as the fifth year of our revolutionary journey comes to an end, we have every right to be proud of our country's armed forces at whose head is our valiant army. We have every right to be proud of their patriotism, their loyalty to national and socialist principles, their resolute and firm support of the Revolution and its leaders and their zeal in serving the arms of the people and the country.

Our armed forces, with our valiant army in the forefront, have made great progress in the military art and the use of modern weapons. To-day they represent both a shield and a mailed fist against those who may try to attack our independence and sovereignty. They are fully prepared to join the Arab nation's ordained battle, the battle for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories.

Administrative Reform

One of the most difficult and complex tasks with which the Revolution was faced was the radical changes necessary in the organisation of the establishment of the law, and to imbue it with a new spirit.

Nevertheless, great progress has been made in this area. From being backward and obstructive, the administration has begun to be positive and constructive and to a greater extent to serve the population and the democratic socialist programs and objectives set by the Revolution.

The Revolution has been working through the State administration and through the people's organisations to eradicate illiteracy and has achieved important results. Major attention has been given to the spreading of education and the construction of schools and institutes while adapting the teaching curricula to meet the development needs and the emphasis on specialised studies.

In Iraq, before the Revolution, there were 4822 primary schools with about one million pupils. In the years 1972-73 they reached a figure of 6353 with more than 1,250,000 pupils.

Similarly, there were 605 secondary schools with 304,379 pupils. In 1972-73 there were 1032 with 348,648 pupils. The number of vocational schools rose from 44 in the pre-revolution era to 61 in 1972-73 and the number of students attending them from 10,217 to 11,426.

Under the Revolution 1250 new school buildings were constructed of which 850 were primary schools and 400 for intermediate and secondary schools.

After the proclamation of the historic March manifesto, 431 primary schools and 44 intermediate and secondary schools were constructed in the North of the country. In addition 62 primary, 16 intermediate and secondary schools and 19 kindergartens are under construction.

Great progress has been made by the universities and likewise by the specialised institutes and those for scientific research.

In 1968-69 the number of students admitted to Iraqi universities was 39,854 of whom 5158 graduated. In 1971-72 the number had increased to 48,573 and 9,632 graduated.

Culture, art and information

Under the Revolution, the media for the dissemination of culture, art and information became considerably more developed and widely spread. Great efforts are being made to-day to develop the press, broadcasting, television, the theatre, music, cinema and folklore; publishing houses are being developed and thus output capacity increased to facilitate the availability of revolutionary culture among the people. Professional, intellectual and artistic organisations have been encouraged and provided with important advantages.

Medical Services

In the course of the last five years, the medical services available to the people have improved and multiplied. Many hospitals and dispensaries have been built in the towns, villages and countryside. Preventive medical campaigns are widely used and medicine in Iraq has made great strides in specialisation and new discoveries with praiseworthy results.

Before the Revolution, there were 12,300 beds in the hospital establishments; to-day there are 20,322. The number of technical personnel working in medical establishments was 5,147, whereas today there are 12,185. In the rural areas at that time there were only three medical centres with 23 doctors, while today there are 135 centres and more than 300 doctors.

At the present time we are trying to extend health insurance to everybody in accordance with the provisions of the law passed in 1970. During the next stage, health insurance will cover districts with 10,000 inhabitants or less which means that 50 % of the country's districts will be covered. Similarly this insurance will include all the villages of which there are 650.

Public Service projects

During this period, the Revolution has carried out a large number of public service projects and the government departments have begun to give better service in many areas to the people. Housing projects have been completed in urban and rural areas and in every part of the country in order to provide every citizen with decent living accommodation. In the North, 10,249 dwellings have been completed and a further 2,000 are under construction. During the last five years, the Revolution has completed many communication projects all over the country and has made noticeable progress in this important sphere which affects the life of the people and the

economic development of the country. In road communications, 7,400 kms. have been opened, improved and resurfaced; 820 kms. of modern road have been made according to the most modern techniques.

Relationships between the citizen and the State

The struggle by the Revolution to create a new relationship between the citizen and the State has been difficult and thorny. It was closely associated with the progress made by the revolution, by its gains and the fulfilment of its promises, by its ability to carry out its program and to bring its slogans to realisation.

To-day, five years after the Revolution began, we have the feeling that a new relationship has been erected and established between the citizen and the authorities. The feelings of confidence, of civic values, the sense of cooperation and teamwork, the respect for work and effort are stronger and more widespread than ever before.

In our opinion this is our greatest wealth and most effective weapon whether in the struggle against the conspiracies of the colonialists and the reactionaries, or in the working out of the great enterprise of the Revolution at all levels and throughout the country to shorten the time, to make progress and to reach the level of development of those countries which have overtaken us.

The glorious past five years have been rich in valuable lessons and experience, in fertile action and sacrifice. So Iraq, whose way had bristled with so many obstacles for such a long time that it seemed that she was incurably sick, has succeeded in healing her wounds and standing on her feet; even better, she is to-day a giant with a strong will and constitution who looks to the future with confidence.

Important lessons

Fellow citizens,

The Revolution and its leading party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, has always kept firmly in mind the necessity of avoiding any feeling of satisfaction with the work it has achieved —and of feeling vain in the hour of victory.

Aswell as being one of the principles of a true revolutionary, it is also important in a special way for us whether in our country or within our Arab nation.

For many years, politicians have been making exaggerated claims and making the people believe that their achievements were the best that could be expected, in this way dulling the sense of criticism, diligence and ambition.

In spite of all the successes and in spite of all the Revolution's achievements over the last five years, we strongly feel that there is a long and arduous road ahead of us before we can reach the goals for which the people have fought, suffered martyrdom and made such great sacrifices.

My dear brothers, the last stage has not been without its dark side. I will even say that a great many errors occurred in a number of sectors. We have been able to remedy some of them, but there are others which will need an energetic struggle to cure.

Our unshakeable faith in the unity of the country and the sincere efforts we have made to achieve it has been harassed by a number of anomalies and negative factors which blocked a number of steps and clouded some sincere intentions and actions. It is essential that our next stage should see the final end of all these negative factors so that the national Front can be built and the unity of the country placed upon an impregnable foundation.

In parallel with the many achievements of the Revolution in the fields of economies, services, health

and culture aswell as the relationship between the people and the state authorities, there were a number of negative factors occurring during the previous stage and in sectors a complete failure in the carrying out of urgent duties.

We should also refer to the mistakes which occurred in the area of foreign and home trade to the detriment of the people and part of the development plan. The country also experienced certain shortages, the lack of and irregularity in the distribution of necessities and other products. These situations gave the people cause for concern and provided good opportunities for the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries to injure the Revolution and its achievements aswell as the socialist system and its ideas. The Government's overall administrative machine, in spite of the progress made during the last stage, is still below the level one would expect, and is one of the essential parts in the realisation of the program and main objectives of the Revolution. During the next stage, it is imperative that an honest, organised and sustained effort be made to avoid mistakes and shortcomings and to improve the working routine.

We may have been conciliatory after taking into account the lack of practical experience; henceforth we will show no toleration.

Our country must make fast progress and must eradicate all those backward relics of past regimes; the administrative machine must evolve and its senior officials must do all they can to get acquainted with the modern science and techniques of administration with a socialist bias. In future there will be no excuse for those who fail in their duty and who do not meet the requirements of progress and the transition to socialism.

We still have to make immense efforts to have illness firmly under control and to be able to provide medical care to all our people even at the furthest limit of the country. We still have to fight to eradicate illiteracy which is widespread among certain sections of the

population, to spread education so that it is available to the new generation.

During the next stage, we must completely and finally finish the task of removing from our culture and educational programs all those reactionary bourgeois ideas and teachings which are contrary to the principles of a national, socialist and democratic revolution; and we must seriously work to create a new generation with a will to work and a belief in socialism and Arab unity.

We must also put an end to the bureaucratic arrogance of government officials in certain departments which is evidenced in their day to day dealing with the people. Government machinery must conform to the spirit of the Revolution and the party by putting itself in the service of the people, simplifying their procedures and settling their problems in a democratic way and with a strong sense of patriotism.

Fellow Citizens,
People of our Arab nation,

Our Arab nation is to-day passing through one of the most critical and difficult periods which it has ever known in modern times. The effects of the imperialist-Zionist aggression of June 5th 1967 are still being felt in the military, political and psychological spheres and, furthermore, are becoming worse and more serious day by day.

The continuation of this aggression and the inability to put up an effective nationwide resistance to it, has and is encouraging the imperialist states, the Zionist entity, and other reactionary groups in the area to challenge the Arab nation, to usurp more territory and to threaten the Arab liberation movement. An example of this is the Iranian government's occupation of three islands in the Arabian Gulf and the adoption of an aggressive policy of threats; others in the area are doing the same in trying to seize certain Arab islands in the Red Sea in order to

make them available to imperialism and the Zionist entity.

Imperialism, and especially American imperialism, together with Zionism made the utmost out of the situation which followed the acceptance of the Rogers Plan and the cease-fire, to strike a severe blow, together with Arab reaction, at the Palestinian Resistance, and in eliminating it, to deprive our Palestinian Arab people of their militant leaders and their armed forces. These three —imperialism, Zionism and reaction— openly collaborated in order to weaken internally the free Arab countries and to encourage, by their aid, right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces and movements to disperse the fighters for freedom and progress and force them to accept the plans for liquidation and surrender.

At the present time, there is a dangerous activity taking place on a large scale in the area to form an alliance between the reactionary Iranian and Arab forces in order to encircle the liberation movement, to contain its position and to dominate the sea passages on behalf of imperialism for its own interests and the Zionist objectives. Suspicious appeals to defeatism and surrender are being made, to-day, more loudly and more openly than ever before.

Under the favourable circumstances, American imperialism and its allies, in the world and in the region, have been able to carry out the major part of their plan to control the Arab oil, which is now available for their imperialistic, monopolistic and aggressive designs. This was happening at a moment when the energy crisis was becoming more acute in the imperialist world and when this commodity, more than ever, could be used as a weapon by the oppressed peoples to compel imperialism and its allies to give up their aggression.

People of the Arab nation,

The July 17th Revolution has a very clear view on the situation in the area which it has often expressed and

explained. We would say, however, that when we express and proclaim our viewpoint it is not to cause embarrassment to anyone or to lay too heavy an obligation on them.

Nevertheless, the truth must be told for the Arab people to hear and to make their judgement.

The period in which we live to-day is critical and dangerous; one cannot make a fool of the truth, bitter as it may be, nor can one remain silent while the situation is deteriorating.

Six years after the last imperialist-Zionist aggression, we cannot continue with mistaken policies, nor foster illusions which have been proved to be sterile by a series of hard facts.

At our meetings with our brothers during official Arab meetings, and in front of the people, we have already put forward proposals for an uncompromising struggle which we are ready to discuss, to-day or tomorrow, with our brothers, in a fraternal atmosphere and with objectivity in our sincere wish to reach practical results.

We are firmly convinced that it is impossible to get out of the current weak and impossible position and effectively confront the enemy unless there is a real unity between those Arab countries who are in the front line of the fight for freedom, where their duty and conditions require them to be. Furthermore, if the fight is to be powerfully and effectively waged, it is essential that oil and Arab money be used effectively as weapons in the battle in the way which we proposed to the Arab Defence Council at the meetings held at the beginning of this year.

Arab oil and Arab funds, which total thousands of millions of dollars deposited in the colonialist countries' banks, should both be used in the fight for freedom and not to benefit the colonialists or the selfish ends of some governments and individuals.

Painstaking and honest work is necessary to direct Arab efforts —human, military, economic and political—

towards this fight and to follow a clear line of tactics on which all can agree provided that those concerned seriously intend to do so.

Total aid for the Resistance

In every confrontation which is to be effective against the imperialist-Zionist enemy, the Palestine Resistance must be given full and unlimited aid, Arab fronts must be opened to it and adequate support given so that it can discharge its role of the vanguard.

The Palestinian Resistance movement is the legitimate representative of our Palestinian Arab people and as such is its fighting weapon and the main fighting formation of the militant Arab movements. It is therefore our duty to provide permanent aid and to place it on a war footing.

Any attempt to destroy it, to disarm it or to include it within plans which involve dispersion or surrender, is, in our opinion, treason against the nation and its sacred cause and deserves a firm and total rebuff.

This is our opinion, —and we say it once again—, that we are ready to examine with our Arab brothers how to bring about solid results by means of an effective confrontation.

Iraq at the beginning of its sixth year of revolutionary progress considers that its sacred national mission is to be the base for the Arab revolution, and that she should place all the capabilities of her people, her patriotic movements, her army and her economy in the Service of the fight for freedom.

We salute all our Arab brothers fighting on every front and support them with all our strength in this national struggle against colonialism and despotism for the freedom and unity of the whole Arab nation.

Fellow Countrymen,

The foreign policy of the Revolution during the past

years has been based upon the following clear principles: the protection of the country and the people's interests, the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and all forms of aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination, and the support of revolutions and liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is on this principle that we have established relations with various organisations. We have offered our friendship and collaboration to those States and organisations who share our principles and aims and who understand and support our legitimate causes; we stood and continue to stand firmly opposed to the imperialist States who intrigue against our rights and our national patriotic interests and who commit open or covert aggression against us. At the same time we have endeavoured to create normal relations marked with understanding and cooperation with those countries who maintain a fair attitude towards our national aims and who do not support aggression against us.

We have also strongly supported, both through international bodies and directly, the fighters in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their struggle for freedom, independence and national unity, without the interference of the imperialists. We have given material and moral support to all those movements and revolutions in opposition to imperialism and racial discrimination. And we would be pleased and honoured if all the militants in the world saw Iraq as an ally ready to give them help and support.

We have supported, under the aegis of international bodies, world organisations and by direct contact with individual States, policies designed to consolidate the foundations of world peace and to reduce tension between nations. We have also stated that these policies must go hand in hand with the end of imperialism and aggression and the protection of the rights and liberties of the people.

We believe in the necessity of peaceful co-existence and in cooperation between nations based upon mutual

respect for each others interests and sovereignty and in the service of the praiseworthy aims of the international community. We would also state that this policy is even more necessary and realistic for those States with common frontiers. To this end, we ourselves have followed this policy in our relationship with our neighbours and those countries close to us.

We have constant ties of friendship and collaboration with our Turkish neighbour and the friendly State of Afghanistan. Similar ties link us with India; and our relations are cordial and under-standing with Pakistan and the new State of Bangladesh.

A warning to aggressors

We give a strong warning against the consequences of the aggressive, chauvinistic and adventurist policy of the Iranian government. It is a policy which threatens the security of Iraq and other Arab interests aswell as to the peace of the Arabian Gulf and nearby regions.

Experience has shown that these policies are bound to fail and that their promoters would have to pay a high price, to the detriment of their people's interests and their hopes for freedom, progress and wellbeing.

Sound logic dictates that neighbouring States should coexist peacefully and settle their problems through mutual understanding and the protection of the interests of all parties.

Our country maintains friendly and extensive cooperation with the socialist States in the political, economic and cultural fields. We regard these relationships from the strategic point of view that this is the link between the Arab revolution and the worldwide revolutionary movement.

It was with this in mind that, last year, we concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is a treaty which coincides perfectly with the interests of our two nations, with their aspirations for

freedom and progress, with the requirements of the Arab struggle against imperialism and Zionism and the principles of international law and world peace.

The Soviet Union has stood beside us and our country during difficult times and has given us valuable help which has had an important effect on our fight for freedom and progress. We are very keen to maintain this friendship, just as we are trying to maintain and develop the friendship between the Soviet Union and the Arab nation in every field.

We have similar wide ranging relationships with other socialist countries in the form of agreements for economic and cultural cooperation and in other fields. Here aswell we are trying to strengthen these ties in order to serve our mutual interests and our objectives of freedom and progress. Last month we visited two friendly countries, Bulgaria and Poland, and worked together to reinforce the ties which already bind us together and concluded some important agreements. On this occasion we pay tribute to the understanding attitude of these countries towards our problems.

Under the aegis of the July 17th Revolution, Iraq's relations with many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe have been widened and are marked by a stable cooperation.

For the first time we have established diplomatic relations with a number of countries in the economic, commercial and cultural fields, and are seeking constantly to develop these relationships.

Iraq considers that she has an important role to play in the group of non-aligned countries. We believe that this is the correct policy to follow for a country which is trying to consolidate its political and economic independence and to achieve its national aspirations. We are using this moment to confirm our support for the Conference of Non-aligned Countries which will take place in Algiers next September.

Our positions vis-à-vis the policy of non-alignment consists of a categorical refusal to place on an equal

footing —whether in theory or in practice— the imperialist states who persecute nations and usurp their rights and those states who give aid and support to the peoples who are fighting for their freedom. In our view this policy must firmly and clearly be opposed to imperialism, Zionism, exploitation and racial discrimination.

Fellow Citizens,
People of our great nation,

To-day we enter the sixth year of our revolutionary journey with great energy and confidence in the future.

The revolutionary fervour which has supported our journey over the last five years and which has enabled us to achieve so much and to win so many victories, still sustains us; and we will always be able to raise the flag of victory as long as we go along the road.

Our faith in the people... in the Arab nation... and in our revolution is very great. The future will be even more glorious and more full of achievements and victories.

In our leap into the future we will not be slowed down by crises and dangers.

If we should stop for a moment, it would only be to deal with them, to avoid their consequences and to learn their lessons. We would quickly be back on the road with our eyes fixed on our long term objectives.

Let our national solidarity and unity flourish, for this is the true weapon which will enable us to protect our current achievements and our plans for the future.

Let us continue to strive for the happiness and worthwhile life of our people.

Let us struggle confidently and selflessly to consolidate the foundation of our revolution, to make it a bastion of defence and a beacon for the great Arab homeland.

Let us pay homage to our glorious martyrs who generously gave themselves for this long struggle and who should have seen what we have achieved to-day and what we will achieve tomorrow.

Let us pay homage to the dear martyrs of the

Revolution who died for it in their confidence and belief in it and in the people.

We also greet our dear guests from our friends and brothers in other States who have gone to so much trouble to join us for our National Day celebrations.

IV

The speech given By President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr on the sixth anniversary of the July 1968 Revolution

The President of the Republic of Iraq, Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr, Secretary General of the Regional Administration of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, on the sixth anniversary of the national and progressive Revolution of July 17th 1968, made an important speech to the Iraqi people and the whole Arab nation.

Fellow Countrymen,

Six years ago the Iraqi people and their militant organisations were living in the hope of seeing the day when their hopes would be realised. But side by side with this hope was misfortune and the situation was not at all good for the interests of the mass of the people. Like all the other regions of the Arab homeland, Iraq was suffering the serious consequences of the defeat of June 1967: weakness, discord, disintegration, loss of confidence and serious disquiet over the future of the Nation.

It was under these difficult circumstances through which the country was passing and in an atmosphere of despair when some were advocating surrender to the imperialist-Zionist and the plots of the counter-revolutionaries, that the Revolution broke out at dawn on July 17th 1968. Its revolutionary leadership had not lost hope and still had faith in the Iraqi people and their powers of

resistance. Under the leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, whose experience and courage are known to all, the militants of July 17th rose up to rid the country of the dictatorial clique who had it in subjection and whose politics were reactionary and corrupt. The July 17th Revolution wanted to renew the people's hopes and raise the flag of victory over the noble soil of Iraq. Immediate radical changes were put in hand for national liberation, democracy and socialism in order to make this country a solid revolutionary base, an advance post and impregnable fortress to support Arab liberation and to act as a beacon for all the militant movements in our homeland.

In the six years which have passed since 1968, our revolutionary experiment has been one of the most successful that the region has ever known; there have been many difficult forms of battle with the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces. The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, the authors of the Revolution, had wide experience organising the people and preparing them for the struggle. They knew how to plan the road of the Revolution, and how to unmask the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces and foil their plans. This experience of the Ba'th Party had been gained during a long struggle with imperialism and was the fruit of severe trials and bitter tests experienced in this very country aswell as in other Arab countries.

In spite of this Ba'th experience and its capability of unmasking and defeating its enemies, the fight between the revolutionary government and the imperialistic counter-revolutionary forces was, during the past six years, extremely hard and complex. This Revolution broke out at a time when imperialism was triumphant and possessed an impressive array in general, and in Arab countries in particular. Since the beginning of the century up until the end of the fifties there have never been such means employed to hinder the people's march towards progress.

From the very beginning, the Revolution had to

combat attempts at infiltration and conspiracies aimed at its destruction. Some of these conspiracies, which it had to face, followed traditional tactics but there were others which used some hitherto unknown. During all these six years, the Revolution has had to face conspiracies, acts of sabotage, psychological warfare on a large scale, and a political boycott. There were numerous attempts to defame us and our revolutionary achievements by the misleading of public opinion. All these took place on a pan-Arab and international level.

In order to meet this serious and dangerous situation, the Ba'th Party used all its past experience and mobilised all its resources to oppose the imperialist plans drawn up in accordance with the newest scientific discoveries. This was the only way to ensure the progress and continuity of the Revolution. It was trying by every means to establish itself, and by carrying out revolutionary activities which created irreversible situations, to carve out a solid path. The imperialists and counter-revolutionaries had to be taken by surprise in order to unhorse them and quickly break the chains destined to strangle the Revolution.

At the same moment that the revolutionary government took up the challenge thrown down by imperialism and the counter-revolution, they carefully made their calculations, taking into account the worst eventualities and brought into play methods and abilities which their enemies had not foreseen. The fight over oil nationalisation, one of Iraq's greatest victories in modern times was striking proof of the correctness of the way chosen by the Revolution and an important advantage in turning the colonialist and reactionary conspiracies into elements of victory for us. This fight enabled us to make a really large step forward on our road to freedom and progress.

In all the battles waged by the Ba'th Party and the revolutionary government the only strength, support and arm was that made up by the mass of the people and the patriotic and progressive movements of the country. The

Revolution, in any case, has always tried to bring about a union of all ranks of the people and the political movements. We are recalling once again this stage of our revolutionary way not only because we want to perpetuate the memory but also because we want it to be continually kept in mind so that our militants may remember and so that all the world may judge in full knowledge of the case how far we have gone up until now and so that the Revolution's gains may be protected.

Although we have been able to win victories, to pass through many stages on the road to freedom and towards the realisation of the whole of our revolutionary program to the point that a counter-revolution has become practically an impossibility in our country, we know that the battle with the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces is not yet over. We must remain vigilant and mobilise all our resources to win the decisive victory. Our revolutionary experiment in this country can act as a lighthouse to guide all the fighters of the Arab revolution in their struggle with reaction and imperialism which want to bring the whole region under their control.

Our experiment is at the same time of a national aswell as a regional dimension. We should always remember this as a guide for struggles in the future.

Fellow countrymen,

To-day we are commemorating the 6th anniversary of the outbreak of the July 17th Revolution only a few months after an important event in the history of the Party and of the Revolution took place; the meeting of the 8th Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. This Congress, the report of which I gave you personally during last March, analysed the various stages of the 5 1/2 year revolutionary process which had just come to an end. The analysis was complete and went into great detail. All the political and socio-economic

changes carried out by the Revolution were assessed and objectively criticised. The Congress report also contained a plan of action for the next five years.

During the few months since the end of the Congress, there has been intense activity to put into effect the Congress' decisions along a date plan drawn up by the revolutionary government.

Great progress has been made on our national and democratic objectives. For example, we can say that the nationalist progressive Front is now firmly established thanks to the patient, continuous and fruitful work of the people concerned. The Front, established on the fifth anniversary after the outbreak of the Revolution, has, in only one year, been able to demonstrate that it is on the right road, and that the forecasts of those movements hostile to the Revolution were wrong. Their intrigues, the doubts they disseminated and their hostile propaganda campaigns set everything back. But even though its inauguration was delayed, the movements making up the Front were able to largely complete the tasks prescribed. The necessary machinery for the smooth running of the Front is now set up. Concerted action by the various political movements in the country has become an incontestable fact and includes all regions of Iraq. It is in this way that the Front is taking part in the thorough examination of existing revolutionary decisions and in the protection of the gains made by the Revolution.

We want the coming year, like the year just past, to be full of successes and that further new important steps can be taken to reinforce the nationalist progressive Front. All those political movements which up until now are not part of the Front, ought to join it in order to bring their contributions to its activities at all levels and in every sphere. To reinforce the Front and widen its experience it is necessary that everyone should take an active and effective share in the work.

During the course of the last year, and especially in the last few months since the meeting for the Eighth Regional Congress of the Ba'th Party, the country has

been the scene of major economic changes whose results will make themselves felt in the short and medium term, and will determine the outlines and levels of the economic and social development of the country.

Wide horizons and great possibilities for an overall, speedy and balanced socio-economic development open up to-day before Iraq. This is possible because of the increase in our oil revenue after the successful nationalisation and because of the correct and courageous oil policy followed by the revolutionary government; thanks also to the political stability of the country since the Revolution established itself in power; and finally thanks to the vigilant and tireless work of those in charge who have gained a great deal of experience. The economic growth of the country will be able to continue in a consistent manner along the general lines of the strategic plan drawn up during the Eighth Regional Congress of the Ba'th Party.

The total of the investments for this year has reached a level which is far higher than all previous estimates. One thousand million and 169 million dinars have been allocated to various projects for the current period 1974-75 whereas only 310 million dinars had been allocated the previous year.

The share allocated to the main sectors has increased to 710 million dinars out of which 225 million was for various industrial schemes. Agriculture was allocated 190 million dinars, transport and telecommunications 120 million, building and public works, hygiene, cultural and social services was increased to 175 million dinars.

Since the manifesto of March 11th, the revolution has built more than 1300 dwellings in the northern region as well as 600 kindergartens, primary, intermediate and secondary schools. Out of 2100 kms. opened up to the traffic, 1100 are fully tarred. Besides this more than 350 million has been allocated and spent on development projects and the current investment proposals recommend a considerable sum for the same purpose. Out of the total of 710 million dinars allocated to the main

sectors, 100 million approximately has been allocated to the autonomous region apart from the sum of 40 million for the fight against underdevelopment and for special crash projects. Finally, to ensure that the development plans are fully carried out it has been necessary to increase the capacity of the Iraqi economy, to lessen the problems connected with these projects and to effectuate them as quickly as possible.

It was with this in mind that Law No 157 concerned with major development projects was passed towards the end of 1973. Its purpose was to carry out the ambitions of the Revolution by increasing the rate of development as possible in all sectors of economic activity. Similarly, it became necessary to increase the amount set aside for the import of undustrial goods and raw materials in order to provide for the new development projects and their subsequent needs, to provide raw materials for industrial requirements, apart from meeting the needs of people, needs which themselves were the outcome of increased purchasing power.

Imports this year will cost 1318 million dinars, a record for our country since it is more or less 41/2 times the value of last year's imports, and is higher than the total value of all exports put together over the last five years. Imports of industrial goods were 500 million dinars and the amount allocated for base products and various raw materials for production were about 484 million dinars, while imports of consumer goods were 200 million dinars, a figure 100% higher than the value of consumer imported last year.

Steps have been taken to implement the decisions of the Eighth Regional Congress recommending an improvement in the people's standard of living, and to fight the wave of price inflation coming mainly from abroad. These steps will help to lighten the price burden by direct and indirect assistance to the people, enabling them to cope with the price increases of essential products such as flour and sugar, building materials such as iron, and public transport facilities. The leader-

ship of the Revolution also took decisions designed to rapidly increase the people's purchasing power. These took the form as from April 1st of substantial increases in the salaries of civil servants, workers and office employees, as well as the military and retirement pensioners.

The reduction in taxes and the charges for water and electricity and other similar measures were to the benefit of the whole population. The price increases which have occurred in our economy during last year and especially in recent months is mainly due to an imbalance in the economies of the advanced countries and which has its repercussions on our economy through the imports required for the development of our country and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

Some of the reasons for the price increases are due to internal factors but, apart from the examples given above, they are also the foreseeable results of the initial stages of a large scale development.

The increases in work and employment which will accrue from the extension of the investment plan and the increases in minimum wage levels are at the heart of the revolutionary leadership policy of providing a better life for the people within the framework of a socialist system. The Revolution has tried to dispense a form of social justice by providing opportunities for work and employment in all sectors to those who are able to work, and especially to university graduates, and by preparing all the country's sons to be ready for the considerable expansion planned in the whole economic sector.

There is no doubt that these steps, together with the increase in investment and general expenses this year, reaching one thousand million and 765 million dinars as against one thousand million and 210 million dinars for this part of last year's budget, designed to enlarge and improve the services providing cultural hygiene and social facilities for the people, have resulted in an increase in the demand for consumer goods. This in turn has resulted in an increase in the volume of consumer

goods and an increase in prices, until such time as the various development project's production comes into the market at a later date and without doubt will satisfy increasing local demand.

The balance sheet for the economic development which took place this last year in our country, will this year be translated into an increase in national revenue of 100% over last year.

Apart from the oil sector, sectors and activities under State control have increased by 13% over last year, a particularly high level when compared with the growth rate of developing countries. In fact a number of international bodies, in accordance with the goals specified by the Second Decade of Development of the United Nations, were aiming at a growth rate of only 6% for national income, 4% for agriculture and 8% for industry.

This year is the last one of the national development plan for the years 1970-74, and we are proud of the fact that our first estimates of the major investments over this period indicate that the Iraqi economy, apart from the crude oil sector, has achieved an average annual growth rate of over 14% for the national income, an average which is twice that of the target set when the national plan was prepared for those years. Besides this average per capita income is increasing at a rate in the order of 33%.

The determining factor in this high rate of development has been our complete control over our oil wealth. The Revolution is nevertheless proud of the achievements it has made in other state owned sectors. The annual growth rate for the whole of our local production, crude oil apart, in the main sectors of agriculture and steel, in secondary industry, in building and electricity for the 1970-74 period should, according to the plan, have been at a rate of 6%, whereas in actual fact it was at the rate of approximately 13%. As far as the industrialisation program is concerned, the majority of the projects have been completed.

At the beginning of the year, the chemical fertiliser project was completed; the cost was about 11 million dinars and it is producing about 190,000 tons of fertiliser. The factory for the production of artificial silk, which cost 13 million dinars, has been completed at Siddat al Hendya and has a production capacity of 9 tons of artificial silk per day. It employs around 15,000 workers and technicians. One can also mention the example of the glassworks at Ramadi with a capacity of 24,000 tons which employs 1365 workers and technicians; the match factory at Michrak, which cost 8 million dinars, with a capacity of 25,000 tons per annum in the first phase and 1 million tons in the second phase. The cement factory at Samonat which cost 3.5 million dinars, the scheme for sulphur extraction at Kirkouk, costing 12 million dinars, and producing 120,000 tons of sulphur per annum as well as 1 million cubic metres of gas... and the other important projects such as the oil refinery at Bassa, the hydro-electric plant at Samra and the foodstuff industry. As from the beginning of this year, a number of major projects have been started such as the petro-chemical complex, costing about 60 million dinars, the project for enlarging the paper factory at Basra which will cost 40 million dinars, the chemical fertiliser factories which will cost 60 million dinars and produce 2 million tons of fertilisers, the factories for the production of vegetable protein and fodder from dates which will cost 12 million dinars, the rural electrification project which will cost 60 million, the building of a paper mill at Missan (34 million dinars) and a cement works at Koufa to produce 2 million tons per annum in addition to other cement factories; there is also the scheme for building 20 factories for hand-made and mechanical bricks as well as the others connected with the production of other building materials.

Last year in the agricultural sector, work went on with the projects for irrigation, drainage, productivity and other services including storage and flood control. Projects have also been started for bringing underground

water supplies into use, and last year 65 million dinars were allocated for this purpose.

The investment program for the current year will see the beginning of major development projects in the agricultural sector such as that at Abou Gharib Al Eroua'i which will cost about 150 million dinars.

This is a coordinated and well balanced project. It combines both the agricultural and the socio-cultural sectors and will also irrigate 1 million deumans (25,000 acres approx.). Similarly, the project at Charq Al Ghouraf will irrigate a similar area at a cost of also 150 million dinars.

The project study for El Eshaqi is almost complete for the irrigation of 400,000 deunams (12,000 acres approx.) at a cost of 100 million dinars and for the construction of the Nahr Saad farm at Missan. This farm will specialise in animal husbandry: 90,000 deunams (2,250 acres approx.) will be used for fodder, pasturage, milk, eggs and meat, and the cost has been estimated at 30 million dinars. A further major project has just been completed for poultry farming. It is intended to increase the current production of eggs by two thirds and chicken and meat to satisfy local demand. The overall cost will be 150 million dinars. This year the construction of large dams will start to act as reservoirs, flood control and electricity generator. Of these, we should mention that at Mosul which will cost 120 million dinars. Aswell as these, the project studies for the dams at Haditha (costing 200 million dinars), Hamrein (25 million dinars) on the river Diala are almost completed.

In transport and telecommunications, a number of road schemes have been completed including the last section of the Haditha-Ramadi road which cost about 2 million dinars. Similarly the bridge at Souaira (1 million) and the broadcasting stations at Amara and Samaouat. Five passenger aircraft have been purchased for 19 million dinars. Work on the project for liquid sulphur has started and will cost 7.5 million dinars. Lorries have also been purchased for the General Road Transport

Company at an overall cost of 15 million and 400 buses for the Passenger Transport Office.

Work on the roads connecting Fao to Oum Kasr (5 million dinars) and Basra to Nasiriya (overall cost 6 million dinars) have also begun. The same applies to the telephone network connecting the main towns of Iraq (costing 11 million dinars), the project for the main cables in the North (overall estimate 5 million) and the project for a complete broadcasting station at Babylon.

Baghdad, Basra and Al Amara are to be equipped with 12 automatic telephone exchanges with a capacity of 114,000 lines, at a cost of 10 million dinars. The radio and television services at Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul will also be improved at a cost of 5 million dinars.

Eight million dinars have been allocated to the public services and buildings, and in the health area there will be 5100 new beds in the new hospitals; 7 million dinars will complete those health projects in course of construction. In addition, 12 million has been allocated to the building of new elementary, secondary and vocational schools and a further 4 million to complete the financing of various schools under construction.

New projects for the universities will cost 12 million dinars out of which 3 million are for the construction of a technical university. For housing, investment has reached 34 million dinars this year of which 26 million are for new schemes amongst which one should mention the schemes for building blocks of apartments for renting (18 million).

Projects in the municipalities and villages will cost 12.5 million dinars apart from government building projects: 2.5 million dinars have been allocated to the construction of offices for the Legislative and Executive Council for the Kurdistan autonomous region and to dwellings in Arbel.

In accordance with the ambitious program decided upon at the Eighth Regional Party Congress, free education is now available at all levels. This additional step, which is one of the principle aims of the Revolu-

tion, will have important effects, firstly in lightening part of the people's financial burden and secondly in giving more opportunities for education throughout the country. Other steps must follow this one in order that education be made available to everyone.

These facts support the decision of the Eighth Regional Party Congress that this year is the real beginning of the development «explosion». There are the solid foundations laid by the free, democratic and socialist policies of the Revolution which will ensure its success and the realisation of its objectives.

These achievements have taken place during out-of-the-ordinary circumstances of which the most important was our participation in the October War. Nevertheless, our economy has not suffered any of the ill effects which usually accompany a state of war. It was able to do so thanks to the strength built up over previous years. Even better, the development work was able to continue.

The world last year was experiencing extremely difficult economic circumstances which were the cause of many problems. One can quote the example of food and the increased and still increasing prices for the basic foodstuffs and the problem of the diminishing raw materials, whose price has also greatly increased, thereby increasing the prices of the products manufactured from them.

The result of this is that Iraq has had to carry an additional economic burden, although the situation has not had as much effect on our economy when compared with the unfortunate and dangerous repercussions on a number of difficult economies throughout the world. The burden of national development has therefore become heavier for us and if the situation continues as it is in those countries, (which is what we expect), we must redouble our efforts, pay great attention to productivity, be more efficient and use natural products and alternative methods of production.

It should be pointed out that there exist certain

factors which are diminishing the positive work carried out by the Revolution for the improvement of the people's standard of living. There are special departments whose duty it is to keep a continual watch and erect barriers which will minimise inflation in the country which may result either from an increase in the standard of living or the progress of the development plan. Similarly, the departments concerned with economic affairs keep an eye on price levels. Recently the prices of some agricultural products have gone up. Bad weather conditions and the effects of flooding (especially in the summer) are the main reasons for this. It is imperative that this situation be understood and that those who do not hesitate to deceive the people in order to make an illegal profit should be rebuffed.

To-day, we have immense opportunities, a strong will, a good spirit and a sound experience which can quickly and completely raise the level of our country so as to enter courageously and confidently, into a century of progress. The speed with which are completed our projects is one of the most important elements in our development for we have to catch up on the time lost during which imperialism and the monopolies dominated our natural wealth and resources. Another important element in our development is that it should be well balanced. Development must take place in every sector and especially in those which incorporate the socialist program of the Revolution inspired by the principles of its leading party and the theoretical and practical program drawn up by the Eighth Regional Party Congress. A development which is real is one which includes the whole country in every sector and in every area and which takes proper account of national needs and priorities.

The development should cover all parts of the country without exceptions and should be concentrated in those areas which have remained undeveloped in previous periods. In particular this means the autonomous region to which we are giving special attention.

The first forecast estimates for the national development plan, on the base of 1973 prices, show that the total investment for all sectors will exceed five thousand million dinars divided in a rational and scientific way to take a well balanced account of the main development objectives and the country's capacity. Considerable sums have been allocated to the building of educational establishments, hospitals and professional needs aswell as other projects for the protection of the environment. These have totalled one thousand million, while for the industrial sector the amount is one thousand four hundred million dinars, for agriculture, one thousand three hundred and sixty million, for transport and telecommunications, one thousand million, apart from various other projects out of which one thousand million has been allocated to self-financing projects.

Another aspect of our development program is to improve the quality of life and particularly for the working class. They must have employment, services over a wide range and of a good standard and a decent standard of living. Our principles and national obligations demand that our planning and our policies should be based upon our faith in Arab unity, on the struggle which is required to achieve it, and in doing everything possible to move towards this unity. This means that we should keep in the forefront of our considerations our national obligations towards our brother Arab States who are in need of economic aid. The Iraqi Development Fund, with a capital which can be increased by 50 million dinars has been created for this purpose.

We have also taken part in the inter-Arab development organisations; and we have personal obligations with those friendly countries who have stood at the side of the Arab nation in its just struggle for freedom and progress. We must do our best to meet these obligations.

Fellow Countrymen,

To-day, our country faces an important historical responsibility; namely that of preserving our national

unity and the democratic evolution to the Kurdish problem by arranging the basis for selfgovernment by the Kurdish people. The country must also get at the heart of the reactionaries in foreign pay who take up arms against the people, the revolution and the autonomous government. In doing this, it is motivated by its criminal plans and ambitions aswell as by the colonialists, Zionists and reactionaries. The peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem is one of the main pillars of the policy and program of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, of the July 17th Revolution and all the patriotic and national progressive movements in the country. The leaders of the Revolution went to considerable honest efforts to ensure that the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people were guaranteed and especially their right to self-government within the framework of the Republic of Iraq.

The names of the members of the autonomous government will be given to you on the 30th of this month after our discussions with the patriotic and national progressive movements and individuals. We will thus have gone a step further forward to a new stage in the strengthening of the foundations of self-government by our Kurdish people.

We wanted the Manifesto of March 11th 1970 to be the green light for a new era in our national life and our internal relationships aswell as a theoretical and practical program for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem which had gone on for many years without being resolved.

The Manifesto of March and the discussions which preceded and followed it were a clear demonstration of the Party and the Revolution's good will and its desire to prevent further bloodshed, to forget the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past and to find a solution to the problems in a spirit of brotherhood and cooperation.

During four years of persistent and exhausting work, the Revolution fulfilled the major part of its promises, made in the March manifesto and tried to create the

peaceful and stable atmosphere necessary for constructive work, following scrupulously a tolerant policy of forgiveness. But the tyrannical and traitorous reactionary clique of the Kurdish movement made an unfavourable reply to these sincere overtures and did not behave in a sincere patriotic manner. It continued to foster a situation of crises in the North, and even deepened and widened its scope; it opened the frontiers to foreign agents, terrorists and traffickers; it made use of all the treacherous means to implant crises and spread false rumours; and it used every pretext and excuse to avoid carrying out its obligations as specified in the March manifesto.

It openly collaborated with imperialism, Zionism, the reactionaries and the enemies of Iraq and its aims for freedom, progress and stability, and also became a focal point for disorder, destruction, corruption and cowardice in the face of responsibility. It also became a focal point for dangerous revisionism and a centre for espionage and intrigue against the country in all areas.

The Kurdish people have suffered from the domination and the exactions of this clique. It terrorised all those who did not share its opinions or who would not accede to its criminal demands. It held the people to ransom and dishonoured them.

The patriotic national progressive Front had presented a full proposal for self-government, which itself was preceded by a lengthy democratic dialogue, led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, between the leaders of the patriotic national progressive movements and all other organisations and political shades of opinion. The time then drew near for the Revolution to fulfil its promise to set up an autonomous government for the Kurdish people. At that moment the reactionary clique in the Kurdish movement began once again its intrigues, conspiracies and acts of sabotage against the will of the people. By acting in this suspicious manner and by provoking disorder, this clique was trying, amongst other things, to force the Ba'th Party and the Revolution to

adopt the same attitude towards it as it had adopted towards the legitimate national cause of the Kurdish people. However, the Ba'th Party, standing firmly by its democratic, socialist and humanitarian principles, and the revolutionary government with its political program for serving the people and achieving all the national operations, could not allow themselves to confuse the interests of a reactionary clique with the nation's cause. We unshakeably hold to the finding of a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem, and as the Eighth Regional Party Congress confirmed, this party which guides and inspires the Revolution, regards itself as responsible for guaranteeing this peaceful solution. By an historic decision at the same Congress, it is responsible for protecting the legitimate rights of its brothers the Kurdish people.

The group of traitors lost all their trump cards and all their pretences against the firm principles of the Party and the Revolutionary government, against the correctness of their program, against the solidarity of the patriotic and progressive movements and the universal approval by the national patriotic and progressive Front of the project for autonomy. So they had to abandon their game, reveal their criminal plans, their objectives contrary to the country's interests, and their close ties with imperialism, Zionism and reaction. They then took up arms against the Revolution and clearly showed themselves to be traitors. Faced with this situation the Party, the Revolution and all the patriotic and national progressive movements had to fight together with determination and on every front to eliminate this criminal clique in order to protect the country's soil and bring peace, stability and democracy to all parts of Iraq.

Following the orders given by the Party and Revolution leadership and with the support of the patriotic and national progressive Front, units of the armed forces, the frontier guards and some national formations rounded up this clique, attacked them in an attempt to wipe them

out of the areas where they had been conducting a reign of terror. They were cowardly taking advantage of the clemency and flexibility of the revolutionary authorities, aswell as of their wish to create a favourable atmosphere for the implementation of the March manifesto and to put an end to the bloodshed.

Very recently this group has been driven back into its final stronghold in the mountain. Our armed forces, frontier guards and patriotic fighters have, with courage, a spirit of sacrifice, a deep feeling of responsibility and a strong attachment to honour and the interests of the people, cut off the groups of the reactionary clique from the rest of the nation.

Noble people!

We are absolutely certain that the fight which our nation is waging to-day against this group of traitors will be crowned with a decisive victory. They should realise that the aid and encouragement which they are receiving from the colonialist states, the Zionist entity and the forces of reaction will not spare them from severe punishment and the fate which they deserve. The July Revolution, the revolution of the people, this revolution which carried through the nationalisation, which inaugurated the Front, built socialism and established autonomy cannot be deterred by intrigues. Just as it was victorious in all these battles, so, with the Grace of God, will it also be this time.

In my name, in the name of the Leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and of the patriotic and national progressive Front, and in the name of the nation, I offer homage and gratitude to the armed forces who have always shown great courage and fine discipline in defending the nation and carrying out their duties; I salute the frontier guards too and the patriotic fighters. I am equally full of admiration and respect for the martyrs who have fallen on the battlefield in defence of their country and the people's future. May their memory

remain for all times as an example of love of one's country, of courage and of sacrifice.

Fellow Countrymen,

The Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party laid down the main considerations which should guide us in our international politics and relationships as follows:

1) The requirements of the Arab freedom struggle and vital Arab causes; in first position the Palestinian and Arabian Gulf causes.

2) The need to protect the revolution in Iraq because it is a base for the fight of the Arab revolutionary movement and is seeking to reach its goals in unity, freedom and socialism.

3) The belief that the Arab revolution is part of the world revolutionary movement and the need for an alliance between the movements in the fight against imperialism, aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination. This alliance will guarantee freedom, peace and progress in the world by emphasising the importance, in theory and in practice, of the independence of the Arab revolutionary movement and its specific nature.

4) The belief in the necessity of establishing good relations in all spheres between the Arab nation and other nations and countries in accordance with our interests, our national and patriotic needs aswell as our belief in the principle of brotherhood.

Besides this, the Eighth Regional Congress of the Party particularly stressed the importance of the relationship between the Party and the Revolution (the latter being a part of the Arab revolution) and the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

This relationship, it was convinced, is based upon theoretical considerations an upon our patriotic and national interests. In the circumstances through which

the Arab world is passing to-day, it is necessary to stop for a moment on this question.

We have often made it clear, and it is proved by our firm adherence to a basic principle and the facts of reality, that we maintain an independent position in our international relations which stems from principles and our patriotic and national interests. However, at the same time, we make a clear distinction between the realistic principle and the suspicious trend towards treating friend and foe on an equal basis. We are far from trying to conceal the differences in our points of view and those of the socialist countries especially as far as the solution to the Palestinian problem is concerned. But we attach great importance to maintaining friendly relations through an amical dialogue seeking mutual understanding and areas for agreement and for common action in the widest possible fields.

We severely condemn those who try to justify their illegal cooperation with imperialism in general and with the American imperialism in particular. We disapprove likewise of an open door policy which allows imperialism to establish itself in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The policy followed by the reaction in certain Arab countries in their relations with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries goes against the independence and the specific nature of the Arab countries. It has tendency to cut off the Arab liberation movement from its friends and natural allies, and force the Arabs to align themselves with the imperialist camp which is the enemy of our freedom, our unity and progress, and is the main supporter of the Zionists who have usurped our territory.

Non-alignment is one of the key-notes of our international policy. We regard non-alignment as essential for a country which has just gained its independence and is seeking to make progress and to find its due position in the international community.

We are seeking by all means to reinforce this policy

just as we are sharply trying to remove from it those attempts to destroy and infiltrate it by those circles linked with imperialism who are trying to join the non-aligned group in order to neutralise this policy of freedom and progress and reduce its effectiveness for confronting imperialism. We are very appreciative of the efforts to reduce world tension, to consolidate the foundations of peace and to resolve problems in a peaceful manner. We also believe that world peace is absolutely impossible so long as there are peoples who have not gained complete freedom and as long as there are those to whom the rights of which they have been deprived are not restored. Furthermore, we declare that real peace in the world is that which is based upon the mutual respect for the right of nations to govern themselves and their country without foreign interference.

Fellow Countrymen,

The Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party defined our relationships with Asia, Africa and Latin America in taking into account the strategic position occupied by the Arab homeland in the original geographic area which is part of what it is convenient to describe as the Third World. Most of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have been under foreign colonial domination; their people have struggled for a long time, and continue to do so, for their freedom, for progress and rebirth. Some of them, like the Arab nation, lost their unity and are struggling to recover it. These countries have all the problems resulting from under-development in the economic, social and cultural spheres. In their fight against a common enemy they have been able to find a common language and to develop friendly relations with each other.

This definition expresses the policy of the Party and the Revolution in the support given to freedom move-

ments in the three continents, and in their effective resistance to attempts at invasion and aggression by the imperialists who are trying to keep down the Third World nations and leave them weak and underdeveloped. Weakness and under-development in fact allow the imperialists to continue their systematic plundering of these countries.

It is on this basis that our country is at the side of the people of Indo-China in their human and just struggle. We were one of the first countries to recognise the revolutionary government of South Vietnam and who supported the legitimate struggle of the Vietnamese people to repel the imperialist invasion led by the United States. We are at their side on all the roads which lead to freedom and the control of one's own destiny. This sheltered it from threats of aggression and strengthened an effective peace. Iraq supports Third World nations who are fighting. She was one of the firsts to recognise the National Union Front in Cambodia and to support the Cambodian people in their struggle against American imperialist aggression with its aggressive and inhuman aims, in Indo-China and elsewhere, in all those countries which have suffered the evil consequences of colonialism and its criminal methods. In Africa, the revolution is at the side of African peoples in their legitimate fight to rid themselves of the domination and the aggressive, inhuman policies of imperialism; policies which are based upon exploitation, racism and complete control of the resources and potential of this continent.

The Revolution has made fast and continuous efforts to demonstrate the connection between imperialism and Zionism and their common plan for this continent; similarly she has tried to rid the African states of Zionist infiltration and domination and to persuade them to support the legitimate struggle of our nation against the imperialist-Zionist alliance and against the usurpation of Arab territory.

The Revolution has supported the liberation movement in Africa, has done whatever was necessary to

strengthen it and has provided those African states in economic difficulties the means to restore their economy so that they do not fall under the imperialist-Zionist yoke and become a victim to be pillaged.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of the great Arab nation!

Our homeland is to-day passing through one of the most critical and dangerous periods in its modern history. It is the duty of all Arab patriots and to their leaders in particular to remain faithful to the truth, to face up honestly to the nation's problems and to evaluate the trends and the current political options. Keeping silent about the facts and taking refuge in the customary civilities can be of no value to the nation.

When we emphasise the need to speak the truth during these difficult and critical circumstances, it is because of our deep commitment to the Arab cause and our concern to protect the nation's gains and our brothers' interests. We know that these gains have only been won after a long struggle and we want to stay faithful to those who have sacrificed themselves for our nation. We fear no reproach in speaking the truth.

We do not want to harm nor mark up points in our favour. We simply want to warn against mistakes and wrong actions by pointing out the better ones.

After the defeat of June 5th 1967, our nation entered into an acute crisis which lasted several long years; it had to pay an enormous tribute in the struggle with the imperialist-Zionist aggression, but many lessons can be learned from this defeat and the years which followed.

Then there was the war of October 1973. In spite of our clearly expressed opinions on the preparations and the political moves which preceded the war, and in spite of our warnings about these moves and the way in which the preparations were being made (they did not provide the essential conditions for a victory), we are sincerely

convinced that the war brought us several gains, above all that it showed the Arab nation's fighting capability and its capability to win the victory.

Our unlimited participation in this war was a national obligation and a great honour, in spite of the circumstances surrounding the preparations and the end of it, and in spite of the attempts of certain governments to isolate us as we have set out in the Regional Congress report on the October war.

But what is a serious matter is that the gains which this war brought to us thanks to the heavy sacrifices of the nation, have not been used to strengthen our position against the aggressors and consolidate the struggle for the recovery of all our rights. On the contrary, these gains have been used as a pretext and cover for making even more concessions to our Zionist enemy to the detriment of our historic rights. It was not enough to devalue our claims for our rights on our territory. It even went as far as to open the gates to counter-revolutionaries who would be in a position to reverse all the concepts, the political bases and gains which the Arab liberation movement had achieved in its long struggle against imperialism and reaction. It went even further in opening the gates to imperialism, the main reason for the aggression and for the under-developed state in which the Arab nation finds itself.

It is impossible to remain silent in this situation. They who are pursuing this course boast about flexibility and «political realism». Their declared intention is to find a peaceful solution to the Arab-Zionist conflict. But all goes to prove that the Zionist foe and American imperialism will not go as far as the authors of this policy may hope for they feed on their illusions and are not sure of their bets and so make concession after concession to the detriment of our fundamental rights.

How far do they want to go? What are they hoping for? What concessions do the authors of this policy and these wrong actions want to extract from the Arab Nation? The problems of the Nation are not the sole

responsibility of any one particular Arab government. It is a subject which truly concerns the whole nation. The war which the Nation has waged for Palestine, Sinai and Golan is a war in which Arab blood was shed, not only Palestinian, Syrian or Egyptian blood. All Arabs, more or less, took part in the attainments of the Nation whatever the pretexts and justifications may be.

The Arab leaders must, before the Nation and before History, coordinate their actions and unify their resources in such a way that it will effectively and constructively oppose the reactionary and counter-revolutionary moves and put a stop to defeatism.

Those who may think that the game is played out and that all we can do is to give in, are deceiving themselves. We are fully convinced that the Arab revolution and the Arab patriotic movements are strong enough to block the counter-revolutionary waves, to prevent any imperialistic infiltration and find, in the end, the appropriate political approach. That of complete freedom, that of the protection of each and every Arab country and of the Nation as a whole. In the same way as the leaders of the Nation, so must the Arab people's movements cement their unity and solidarity to oppose the counter-revolutionary trends and the imperialist intrigues.

We would say to our brothers of the Palestinian Resistance that there are some who, by various methods are trying to lead you up the blind alley of giving up your rights, and the legitimate Arab right to Palestine; to agree to proposals which are no more than false promises on the slippery path by which the willpower of the Palestinian revolution will be destroyed and the Palestinian revolution, this holy Arab cause, will be finally and definitely liquidated.

All those who have taken up arms and shown the Arab nation's ability to take up the challenge in critical times, must to-day be warned of the vile plot which will lead them on to signing the death sentence of their cause and of their nation's.

Fellow Countrymen,

At the end of six years of effort, perseverance and sacrifice by everyone of you, it should be said that these victories and successful actions, which you have had the honour of sharing, cannot allow us to be complacent about our achievements or to rest on our laurels. Quite to the contrary, they are part of our working capital and will provide a firm foundation from which to continue the journey which began on July 17th.

Our faith in the people and in the potential of this nation is without limit; it is one of the main supports which has enabled us to carry through our goals during the continual, changeable fight. It is this faith which will be the determining factor which will encourage us to continue our victorious progress and with confidence in the future possibilities which are opening up for our nation. Our nation must safeguard its honour and its right to a constructive human existence.

Worthy people!

To-day we begin the seventh year of your victorious Revolution. At this present moment we have even more hope and confidence in the future. The patriotic and nationalistic revolutionary spirit of the last six years are proof of it and will continue to guide and inspire us. The future will be no less difficult, will not require less effort, endurance, sacrifice and strength than in previous years. The sacrifices will be the milestones which mark the victories and successes of our nation on the way to progress and the ability to fight and challenge the enemy.

Fellow Countrymen,

On the anniversary of our glorious Revolution, it should be proudly proclaimed that you have been loyal soldiers of your country, of the nation, and of the

Revolution. You have proved it by your willing sacrifice, your prowess and your morale along this difficult road fraught with ambushes but, at the same time, with hope and success.

You have shown that you were the invincible people of the July Revolution. A people who are determined to occupy the positions which are their due, who match up to their civilisation, to their desire for happiness, to the happiness of the Arab nation and of the whole world.

History will not forget this generation which has courageously accepted its responsibility to preserve to-day's achievements and make ready for the future. We offer you, together with the leadership of the Party, of the State and of the National Front, our greetings and respects for your brave efforts in the building of unity, freedom and socialism.

We pay homage to the martyrs of our nation who died in fighting for a better tomorrow, to the martyrs of the Revolution who sacrificed themselves for the realisation of the hopes of our nation. We also greet our guests from the fraternal countries who have joined us to partake in our glorious national celebrations.

V

The mobilisation of Arab Resources for Liberty

Fellow countrymen, sons of the great Iraqi nation,
People of our glorious Arab nation.

In these memorable days, we are commemorating the Revolution of July 14th 1958 and July 17th 1968 which is proudly and confidently entering into its eighth year.

These celebrations of the revolutions are important in the history and destiny of our people and our nation because, amongst other values and symbols, they demonstrate our ability to confront the colonialist forces, oppression, corruption and under-development, and to overcome the difficulties and obstacles which impede our freedom and rebirth. That is why these days are not only occasions for celebration and rejoicing but also a suitable moment for the sons of our people and our nation, who believe in themselves, to show what they are capable of in the face of colonialist and imperialist intrigues which threaten our nation and how they can create those conditions which enable us to move firmly forward towards the liberation of our usurped territory, towards the achievement of Arab unity, and to bringing about the revival in every sphere; actions which will enable our country to take its due place in the international community. These days are also important because they allow us to look at our past experience, to chart our

future course, and decide on the action to be taken now and in future stages, while remaining true to our patriotic and national goals.

One only has to glance at the whole of Iraq's history and that of the Arab nation to realise that we have undergone the worst invasions and colonialisations of all time. After having been in the forefront of civilisation, aswell as political and military power, the most severe and destructive conditions were imposed on our nation.

For several dark centuries, the invaders and colonisers aswell as some of the nation's sons who had sold themselves to the foreigner and had no faith in their nation, called upon the people to accept with resignation what they called the «fait accompli»; they claimed that it was impossible to change the situation which powerful forces with unlimited resources and strength in every field had imposed upon the nation.

However, these forces did not succeed in extinguishing, in the nation, the thirst for life, freedom and for progress although they made use of oppression and intimidation. There have always been men who had faith in the age-old inheritance of their nation, who understood its great mission and realised its creative power. Each of them fought as best he could with his own resources from where he stood to liberate it and bring it to a new birth. Later, in modern times, new colonialisng forces arrived to oppress and delude the nation. But neither they nor the local chiefs and classes allied with them could stop the national struggle for freedom or stifle the people's and their progressive movements' desire for a complete rebirth. These people, with your Party at their head, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, called upon their brothers to wage the struggle with determination even under the very difficult circumstances, to be inspired by the age-old inheritance and values of the nation in order to gain complete freedom and rebirth and to create a socialist united Arab society.

The struggle has demanded stern effort and bitter sacrifice, but it has not been in vain and it was not

inspired by pure fantasy. It has been conducted realistically and has ended in a magnificent victory in spite of all difficulties and all attempts to demoralise and checkmate us. Nevertheless, our nation and our progressive movements have still a great deal to do in this historic journey.

The Revolution of July 14th 1958 and that of July 17th 1968 were successful and victorious revolutions; they bore witness to the genuine wish for life, freedom and progress which permeated the people and the nation; they were confirmation that the way of the revolutionary struggle was realistic and that it could succeed; finally they certified, by their actions and achievements that our people, who are an integral part of the Arab nation, is able to challenge the circumstances, the plans and intrigues prepared and hatched by the colonialist and reactionary forces. Similarly it has been able to overcome the long-standing and complicated factors due to lack of development and cut a path towards freedom and rebirth with confidence and determination.

Your Revolution, the Revolution of July 17th, was not simply a change of government, nor was it an attempt at superficial reform, short-lived and limited, with short term objectives. It represents a deep and complete change whose reasons and motive power sprang from the Arab nation's situation, its ancient heritage and its strong wish to start a revival and to promote unity; this change is inspired by the nationalist socialist and democratic ideology of the Party of the Arab revival... the Party of the Arab struggle for freedom, unity and socialism... the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party.

This is why, from the beginning, and all along the road up until now, this Revolution has acted as a revolution of historical importance by the way in which it set about its tasks, its problems and the battles it had to fight.

The main support of the Revolution is its great confidence in the people and their creative powers which

appeared as soon as they had properly run organisations and an experienced responsible revolutionary leadership.

During the past years of the Revolution's journey, a solid basis of confidence and cooperation has been built up between the people and the leaders of the Revolutionary advance guard represented by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. It was after numerous combats and events that the people gave their complete confidence to their leaders and when they realised that the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party personified their fundamental interests and their patriotic and national goals, and led them with devotion and competence.

The experience of the past year is a new magnificent proof of this confidence and its great importance as an element in the preparation of the appropriate conditions for success in major battles. The proof was given at the time of the battle in the north of the country against the reactionary and treasonable revolt which was one of the biggest and most dangerous of the colonialist intrigues to which the Revolution and the homeland has ever been exposed.

The birth of the Revolution, led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, gave a shock to imperialism and seriously threatened its interests and plans in Iraq and in the area. For this reason it was opposed to the Revolution from the very beginning, and tried by every means to plot against it. Subsequently, the Revolution's acts and its radical policies, internally as well as pan-Arab and internationally, increased imperialism's hatred and furious animosity in plotting against it. Imperialism well knows what the oil nationalisation of June 1st 1972 meant, as well as the subsequent nationalisations; it understood the message when the valiant Iraqi army took part in the October war, from the policy which the patriotic front was following, from the peaceful and democratic path taken for the solution of the Kurdish question, from the international relationships which Iraq had established and from all the other political initiatives which Iraq had undertaken. It is also well aware of the threat which

these activities carry for its interests and plans when the ideology and the approach encompass the national scene and the whole Arab homeland, and are closely linked with the Arab struggle against imperialism and its interests, against the Zionist entity and against divisive factions.

The Revolution's course of action over the last few years has confirmed that there exists a deep and basic contradiction between it and imperialism and its allies. When the contradiction takes place in Iraq, a country which is in an important strategic position in an area which is one of the most sensitive from the points of view of the imperialist interests and its international strategy.

Imperialism has mounted many conspiracies against the Revolution over recent years. It resents its existence and is trying to take revenge and to put out its bright flame in this area where it was trying to arrange matters in such a way as to extend its hegemony, reinforce its position and protect its interests.

But, because of its expertise, the Revolution has always shown an exceptional ability to resist and to defoil, one after another, the imperialist plans, and to turn each confrontation into a new leap forward towards the strategic goals laid down by the leadership. Imperialism has learned from experience that a number of its traditional techniques no longer worked. It failed in its plot to overthrow the Revolution by a coup d'Etat, a technique often used in Third World countries. It failed because it encountered a strong, firmly entrenched, genuine revolution which had been able to forge strong links with the people and the revolutionary-minded social classes and based upon a democratic militancy; and in addition, with a leadership distinguished for its abilities and its permanent vigilance. Imperialism also failed to undermine the Revolution by direct or indirect means, following its usual base techniques, of dividing it from within and fomenting dissension within its ranks. It failed because it found itself facing militant people who believed in their party and their nation's cause and who

were united by their common struggle and by their high morale.

Imperialism did not succeed in either causing the Revolution to fall into the snares which it had spread out, nor in sidetracking it into diversionary battles. For the Revolution, calculating accurately and with a strategic long term perspective, had foreseen all the developments and possibilities which might arise and had provided for their eventualities. So it was never taken by surprise by any major change in the situation and never undertook any improvised action.

Imperialism, therefore, was left to play its old card, —which was new at that time,— that is to say to bring up the Kurdish problem via the counter-revolutionary channels, and to find a reactionary and treasonable nucleus within the Kurdish movement, who would be willing to betray the Revolution, by intriguing against it, and by sowing discord and revolt in the mountainous regions of the north. Imperialism provided important military and financial support aswell as its mass media; and by various direct and indirect methods created a wide network of supporters on an international scale not only with the imperialists and Zionists but also in circles opposed to us. They calculated that the rebellion, provided with all it required, would tire out the Revolution and prepare the ground which would be propitious for their plans to abort the Revolution... or at least by a long drawn out battle, wear it out to the point of being automatically on the defensive and thereby impede its progress.

But the Revolution had known of this tactic for a long time and that imperialism would revert to it; so when the robber clique started the revolt, it was absolutely ready to implement the plan against them. The tactics which it had used from July 17th and 30th, which were signposted with a series of successes, provided the Revolution with a basis for confronting the imperialist plan to completely defeat the forces of counter-revolution and of treason, and wipe them out for all times. During

the course of the war, «national unity» was our most important slogan and one was able to see how all the national progressive and patriotic movements became united within the Front to oppose the rebellion and to reveal its motive power and its intentions. Furthermore, the confidence existing between the leadership of the Revolution and the Kurdish people, as well as their democratic and militant connections provided a solid and well built rampart around the Revolution and gave it a «strike force» which enabled it to isolate and contain the rebellion.

The imperialists had built up an international network to support its agents and its intrigues, but the Revolution, because by its nature it is for freedom and progress and because it is an important base for all the world freedom movements and because it keeps in close touch with these movements, and because it has initiated a widespread, planned international campaign, has succeeded, thanks to this support, in foiling this plot by isolating the rebellion and neutralising the intentions of the imperialists.

We can therefore be proud, without any reservations, that the battle waged by the Revolution against the reactionary, criminal rebellion was in its totality and its smallest detail, a battle which was in worthy conformity with our principles.

The imperialists and counter-revolutionaries tried by tortuous and pernicious methods to lead the Revolution to confuse themselves with the Kurdish people and their rightful cause. But the Revolution, by holding firmly onto its principles and its promises, has always made the distinction, even under the most difficult and complex conditions, between the Kurdish people who seek autonomy within the country, and the felonious clique who pretend that it is they who represent the Kurdish people and their cause. The Revolution, with great perseverance, initiated this autonomy, established the executive and legislative machinery, and guided it so that it may make its contribution to the national development. In accor-

dance with its principles it conducted its handling of the Kurdish problem in a democratic way so as to foster the complete national unity of all the sons of Iraq.

The imperialists and the rebels planned to force the Revolution and the army into acts of vengeance which would provide justification for the revolt. This is what used to happen in the past and which always happens in similar situations in other countries. But because the Revolution had proper plans and a humanitarian policy, as Party ideology requires, it was able to carry out a difficult and delicate task, that of waging a battle based upon moral principles in spite of the difficult military and psychological conditions. We take advantage of this historic occasion to pay great tribute to our valiant armed forces for their magnificent exploit. We are proud of them and congratulate them warmly for their praiseworthy fighting capacity, their exceptional courage, their high moral values and firm attachment to principle. These are all qualities which have been drawn from our ancient heritage, from the moral principles of the Revolution and its leading party, and they fully deserve, by their competence and loyalty, to be the army of the people and the nation.

Finally, it should be said that never, since the orthodox califates and the centuries of Moslem-Arab glory, has any battle been conducted with such high moral principles. As I have already told you in my speech on the eve of April 7th this year, this feat is one of the most important that the Party and the Revolution have accomplished; it is a great revolutionary, human and military achievement.

The battle which we have been waging against the centre of treason was widespread, complicated and hard. It was not a battle limited in space, but a serious confrontation between the forces of freedom and progress in the world, for whom we were fighting, and the world imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces on whose account the rebels were fighting. In spite of the difficulties at certain moments, the victory which we

have won is also that of the world forces of freedom and progress. We have foiled the imperialist plans and removed all hope of stopping the Revolution from those who bear feelings of hatred towards us and who plot against us.

This was a battle in which the Revolution gave proof of its strength and efficiency, and in which the people led by their advanced guard, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, gave proof that they were masters of their fate and of their future, whatever plots might be woven against them and whatever means might be used to oppose them.

Fellow Countrymen,

In spite of the difficulties and battles of the past year, in spite of all the sacrifices made for the political, military, economic, organisational and especially on the psychological level, the imperialists and counter-revolutionary circles have not succeeded in hindering the progress of the Revolution. It has, in fact, reached such a level of maturity and efficiency that it can now take front position in the battle for the defence of the national sovereignty and unity, and for the reconstruction of the country by following the basic principles and objectives of the Party.

The intentions of the revolutionary program, drawn up by the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party at the beginning of 1974 and published in the political report, have been fully implemented with great care and along the plan made out by the revolutionary government.

Energetic measures for development have been taken; a vast investment program has been set up for which the Revolution has earmarked sums of money without precedent in the history of the country. Agriculture, irrigation, industry and the various services, as well as the oil projects, are included in this financial plan. We will be inaugurating in the next few days several of

those projects which play a vital part in our plans for the development of the oil industry and for our economic future. The Revolution is continuing to take steps to improve the standard of living, and the functioning of the health services, education and culture.

It gives us satisfaction to observe that, in spite of the size of the conspiracy which the imperialists made against us, either by instigating the rebellion or by the hostile moves towards oil nationalisation in particular and to the oil producing countries in general, our economy is strong and able to provide for the great needs of our country; as well as making an effective contribution towards the solution of all the national problems connected with the battle or with the support of brother countries, or giving aid to our friends in Africa and Asia.

I do not want to say that the past years have been free from difficulties and failures for our economy and development. I would only say that they were nothing new in the sense that we took them over from previous regimes, as the political report of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Party clearly stated. Nevertheless, we are doing our best to remedy them by keeping an overall view of things and acting in a way to create healthy procedures, relationships and foundations in our new revolutionary society.

Because we are part of the world, we have been affected by the world economic situation, by inflation and the price increases of industrial and consumer goods. This has taken place in the majority of countries especially the capitalist industrialised countries and was aggravated by the fall in the value of the dollar which had repercussions on the price of our oil resources. The fact that our development plan is so great and that consumer demand for many products is so buoyant has meant that we have been rather more effected by it. We have taken on a heavier financial burden in order to take account of these price increases and on the other hand we are subsidising the difference in price for basic

necessities in order that the people may get them at reasonable prices.

The financial and budgetary year at the moment is for nine months, and next year will coincide with the civil year. Although the period is shorter, the budget and investment program is running at a high and increasing level and have enabled us to improve State services and institutions as well as to maintain our ambitious overall plan.

This means that we must work energetically and at full stretch in all fields and that the workers be full of zeal and initiative. These values have been stressed by the Revolution and its leading party, as being essential to the new revolutionary society and one of the most important tools for an individual to find his place in society, to arrive at his potential and opportunity for going further.

In the same way that the imperialist reactionary conspiracy has not been able to hinder the progress of the Revolution in the economic field, similarly it has failed to stop our democratic progress. On the contrary, the confrontation with the imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces have enhanced democratic practices in the country and enriched the experience of all the people's democratic organisations which are making more and more contributions to the building of a people's democratic society, the basis for which has been defined in the political report of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Ba'th Party.

The experiment with the patriotic Front has also gone further and deeper. And as we promised on this day a year ago, all parties and all patriotic and nationalist progressive movements who supported the Charter for National Action, and the program and basic principles of the Revolution have in fact joined the Front.

During the course of the next stage, it will be absolutely necessary to strengthen democracy further, in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Regional

Congress. The patriotic Front must also be a lively part of our democratic life so that it can fulfil the role laid down for it in the Charter.

Besides, by strengthening the leading role of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party within the Front, we are carrying out one of the main tasks of revolutionary activity and are providing the answer to a fundamental need, confirmed by past experience and the requirements and work of the future. This will provide sufficient guarantee that the Revolution may go on and develop and the Front become stable and flourishing.

Fellow Countrymen,

The past year has witnessed intense activity in the field of foreign relations. High level visits have been exchanged with many countries, which has strengthened the ties of friendship and cooperation based upon interests in common and mutual respect in accordance with the international relationship concept defined in the report of the Eighth Congress.

During the year, in our relationships with the non-aligned countries and especially with Yugoslavia, we have stressed our wish to pursue this correct policy which is necessary for free countries who aspire to progress and to the establishment of healthy, well balanced international relationships. Here, we would confirm our position, based on the principle of calling for an extension of the policy of non-alignment and its protection against the attempts by imperialism to weaken and unsettle its framework by infiltrating pro-imperialist elements and trends.

We have developed our relationships with the socialist countries in every field. Last year we arranged meetings and signed agreements with the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Rumania as well as with the People's Republic of China and with democratic Korea. Our relationships of

friendship and cooperation have been extended to several Asian countries, in particular with India, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. Similarly we have strengthened our ties with African and Latin American countries.

Iraq has carried out its duties as a militant country towards a number of Third World countries providing them, within its means, considerable economic aid to improve their economic situation and strengthen them against imperialism.

I would particularly like to praise our friendly, cooperative and neighbourly relations with Turkey which we are always trying to preserve and extend. Likewise, during last year our relations with France have been friendly, cooperative and understanding. There bilateral arrangements have been conceived with the wide relationship between all the Arab and all the European countries in mind, on a basis of healthy and equal cooperation away from the pressures and influence of American imperialism.

The most famous event in our international relations was the agreement concluded with our neighbour Iran for the settlement by peaceful means of the problems between us based on a mutual respect and understanding of non-interference.

In the common interest we have expended much effort on establishing these close ties of friendship and cooperation. These principles have been very well expressed in the Algiers Agreement signed on March 6th and in the treaties and protocols signed on June 13th 1975 and published on the 22nd of the same month. Apart from this, during the last few months, the high level exchange of visits between the two countries have confirmed the wish to respect these principles and to try to establish relations of friendship and cooperation on the basis of the common interests and the centuries old historical links between Iraq and Iran.

We are also sure that the imperialist and Zionist forces, as well as other hostile circles, were thrown off balance when they saw Iraq and Iran move towards a

peaceful settlement of their problems. They are trying by treacherous means to damage the agreement and to destroy the new relationship between us and Iran. We must therefore be watchful and work together to oppose these evil designs and strengthen the links between us.

The agreement between Iraq and Iran, aswell as the relationships based on mutual understanding with the Arab countries in the Gulf has had a very positive effect on the region which was intended to be an area of tension and friction and a theatre for imperialist activities. In order to make sure of a normal situation and normal and equal dealings between the countries of the Gulf, to preserve each one's complete sovereignty and to foil the imperialist attempts to destroy our relationship with Iran by taking advantage of certain abnormal circumstances in the region, we based ourselves on the decisions of the Eighth Regional Congress, on our own deep sense of responsibility, and our respect for the legitimate interests of each country bordering on the Gulf. We have drawn Iran's attention to the need for a rule which will assure the freedom of navigation in the Gulf and the Hermes Straits aswell as the freedom of fleet movements, in accord with existing custom. A fair division of responsibility amongst all the Gulf countries must be worked out. All forms of regional pact will be refused as this is a basis of our policy. And all communal action must be carried out free from imperialist interference and influence, which we reject and will strongly resist.

We are certain that if all the countries of this region respected this rule and these principles and established relationships of agreement and cooperation with each other, they could realise their ambitions and guarantee their rightful interests. Furthermore, they would remove the state of tension and its causes aswell as the abnormal situations which still rage in the Arabian Gulf area. On this basis and in accordance with our national responsibilities we have sought to establish relationships of complete understanding with all the Arabian Gulf Arab

countries, especially with Saudi Arabia. Similarly we have to resolve all pending problems, with our deep faith in Arab brotherhood and the united Arab destiny. We are resolved to carry out this policy with determination and faith.

As far as the relationships between oil producing and oil consuming countries are concerned, we confirm our strongly held position based upon justice and respect for the legitimate rights of all parties concerned.

We oppose any policy which can damage the consumer countries but cannot accept that our rights and those of the other producing states be injured. The price of oil must increase at a rate which corresponds with inflation and the fall in value of the dollar in order to guarantee a fair revenue to the producer countries, particularly as this revenue is at the heart of these countries' economies and their legitimate desire for growth and development.

We also believe that oil production should correspond exactly to the demand, for if it exceeds it there would be a surplus on the market which could have a serious, negative effect on prices and cause harm to a great number of producers. We invite all producer states and especially the Arab states, to act on this principle in order to prevent any of us from being harmed.

We also call upon all the OPEC countries to join together to protect their legitimate interests and to oppose the American imperialist attempts to sap their unity and bring harm to us all.

We call for cooperation based upon justice and the protection of the interests of consumers and producers, and we are opposed to certain consumer countries, the U.S.A. in particular who are trying to impose a formula which would be to the benefit of only one of the two parties without consideration for the other, either through the International Energy Agency or by other means sanctioned by the U.S.A. Each party, producer and consumer, is interested in the exploitation of this vital commodity which is why it is necessary that fair and

stable bases be established for ensuring those interests.

On the basis of this, we supported the French move to hold a dialogue between the oil producer countries, Third World countries and consumer countries. For the same reason we approved the linking of energy prices and raw materials with world economic conditions and especially with inflation and the fall in value of the dollar, for these conditions have had a bad effect on the world economy and on the real income of the energy and raw material producing companies. We refused to discuss, for this reason, the price of energy alone.

We are still in favour of the continuation of this dialogue in order to arrive at equal and fair arrangements between the interested parties and also to foil the American imperialist plans which aim at the imposition, by means of the International Energy Agency, at a colonialist policy, hostile to the interests of the producer nations and, consequently, to the consumer nations.

Fellow Countrymen,
Militant Arab People,

More than eight years have gone past since the Zionist aggression against the Arab nation in 1967, and the enemy, encouraged and supported by American imperialism, still occupies the whole of Palestine, Sinai and Golan.

In spite of all the propaganda which accompanied the so-called peaceful solution, all the hopes put behind it and all the illusions aroused by American promises, eight long dark years have passed; the enemy still refuses to withdraw from the territory occupied in 1967, and imposes humiliating terms in exchange for each minor and partial concession which they and American imperialism dangle before us.

We have never stopped warning against imperialist-Zionist policy which aims at quietening certain Arab regimes and the Arab people in order to extract further

concessions and, eventually, surrender out of them. This was also to enable the interested parties to use the so-called political solution as a means of propaganda for the application of resolutions 242 and 398 and their presentation as a victory or political gain. In fact the two resolutions in their form and content, imply the recognition of the Zionist entity and the concession, to its advantage, of land occupied before 1967 in exchange for the withdrawal of territory after this date.

This policy is a dangerous snare because it ignores Arab rights to Palestine and presents the problem as though it began in 1967; it deliberately ignores two things: that the present Arab generation has refused to accept Zionist occupation of Palestine from its very beginning and has fought for many long years to free it, and also that the occupation in 1948 is the cause of what happened in 1967.

When we underline these principles and truths, it is not because we are taking up an extremist position nor because we wish to embarrass others, nor because, as certain well known circles say, we lack realism. It is simply for two fundamental reasons; first, that Zionism, by its nature, by its ties with imperialism, and its role as agent of the great powers in a sensitive area, cannot be other than aggressive and expansionist; secondly, the Arab nation is not incapable of obtaining all its legitimate rights provided that she will concede one part of them in exchange for the remainder.

With great human, economic and military potential strength, and with its position within the international community, the Arab nation is not incapable of confronting Zionist aggression, contrary to the impression which collaborators of imperialism and those who have no confidence in their nation would like to give. The collecting and mobilising of all or a major part of this nation's capacity within a long term, seriously planned framework for the struggle, the profitable use of all propitious opportunities and the establishment of international relations which fitted in with the strategic

objective, would enable the nation to reach its goal, in other words, complete freedom. If at a certain point in time, this should not be possible, the nation is to-day capable of moving a long way along this road without the need to abandon the goal or give up its historic rights.

It is wrong to say that world public opinion will be on our side if we accept resolutions 242 and 338 and if we give up our legitimate rights on Palestine.

In fact, fair-minded public opinion in the world would, on principle, refuse to reward an aggression for his crime; it would also refuse on principle to allow an aggression to make conditions for withdrawing from a territory which he has occupied by force, and it is this that we must try and make clear on the international stage. If Arab diplomatic activity and information followed this line all through the eight years, we would now have vast international support.

The correct approach should be a joint effort between the Arabs and our friends to induce the international specialised organisations to pass a resolution to compel the Zionist enemy to withdraw unconditionally from territory occupied in 1967, territories which belong to sovereign states who are members of the United Nations. This is acceptable practice under international law and principles, and has been applied many times in various parts of the world and even in the Arab homeland. In 1956, the Zionist enemy was compelled to withdraw from Sinai without Egypt or the Arab countries being obliged to negotiate with her or recognise her.

Apart from this, the Arab nation is to-day not so weak politically, militarily or economically to have to accept that which she was not forced to accept twenty years ago; and in addition, her international relationships and her position in the world are very much more important than they were at that time.

Concerned as we are to preserve the united Arab effort and our sincere wish to cooperate in a useful and fraternal way with our brethren in the affected countries, we would stress the need to work for the bringing

together of the military, economic and political capacity within the long term strategic plan for a serious war, based upon the principles which we have already mentioned. We are convinced that, by so doing, the Arab nation will place itself in a better position.

We think that now is the time to form an Iraqi-Syrian military front and to allow Iraq forces to take up positions in Syria, on condition that the Syrian government unequivocally rejects resolutions 242 and 338 and the Geneva conference, and promises to abide by the principles which we have set out previously; she must also promise to take the road of militancy whereby Golan is considered as being part of the whole, and that its liberation would be a stage further towards the liberation of Palestine and all other occupied Arab territory. We also think that now is the time to open the Jordanian front against the enemy and to support it with special Arab military and economic aid; the Egyptian front should also be helped by very great economic support and military support from the Maghreb countries.

The mustering of Arab capacity in this way would create the climate for the best use of political means, as defined in our principles, in a sensible and coherent manner, without cancelling out the most effective weapon of all: warfare and the use of military forces under conditions which favour Arab requirements and when the international situation should permit.

We also believe that logical and effective use should be made of the enormous Arab economic power, either politically or militarily against the Zionist enemy and the foreigners who stand at her side.

We believe that this concentration and direction of Arab strength would bring us vast international support. The stronger this becomes and starts to achieve something, the more the international movements will come to respect it and the more international support it will receive. Our own national experience contains many examples which confirm this truth. The understanding which world opinion to-day has for the Palestinian cause

is much deeper and wider than in the past, thanks to the struggle by the Palestinians themselves, the great sacrifices which they have made, and the part played by the Palestinian Resistance. Apart from this, the support and respect for the Arabs is much greater to-day, after the October war, amongst the international community and their friends. The same applies to what is called the fait accompli; the people, by their determination to fight, can change completely what at a certain point in time was called a fait accompli. Here again, our national experience and that of other people confirms this truth.

When we emphasise the need to concentrate Arab capabilities and to direct them properly (a policy which we think is realistic and logical), it is because we are concerned that the breaches in the Arab ranks should not become wider and all should be made ready in the best conditions for reinforcing our march towards freedom.

However, this does not mean that we should keep silent about mistakes. We have promised the Arab people that we will explain the facts and that we will say what we think is right; we will go to great and sincere effort to bring about understanding and to minimise objections which do not go against our principles or strategic goals.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of the Arab nation,

Aswell as developing fraternal relationships with the countries in the Arabian Gulf, last year we made great efforts to strengthen those with other fraternal Arab countries in every sphere.

We are following this policy of strengthening our links with Arab countries, and are doing so with much enthusiasm, because we have deep faith in the Arab destiny. We are sure that the differences which exist between governments, the opposed opinions and inter-

pretations, should not prevent the Arab countries from cooperating with each other in every field, and, outside of their political relationships, to establish economic, cultural and human links on bilateral, inter-Arab and international bases.

We would also emphasise the need for continual serious work on the development of complementary economies in the Arab world. The basic similarities of the Arab economies point to the need to work out communal projects, to have a wide exchange of technical and professional experience, and thus a complementary economy capable of filling the gaps and relieving the bottlenecks which occur here and there. In this way the solid foundations will be laid for Arab unity; an atmosphere of brotherhood, cooperation and understanding will be created, something which the Arab homeland has lost, often for no valid reason.

We have been able, thanks to God, to build solid relations with the majority of fraternal Arab countries and carried out our national obligations towards them.

We must, in this connection, comment on the current attitude of the Syrian regime.

The disagreements which we have with this regime have not prevented us from having fraternal relations with it as we do with all the Arab countries. Convinced as we are of the need to strengthen the position of these countries, we have tried to give the Syrian regime as much fraternal assistance as possible and to carry out common projects with them. When the October war broke out, we immediately participated on a large scale and without reserve; and then we put our armed forces at the disposal of and under the command of the Syrian authorities. But, unfortunately, this regime has continued to behave towards us with hostility and as though to do us harm, and has ignored all our national and also international conventions. In doing this, the Syrian regime, either directly or indirectly is aiming a plot against the Revolution to serve the imperialist plan.

These are not groundless charges but hard facts...

After we had nationalised the oil in June 1972 and were waging a difficult and complex battle —a battle with which the freedom of the Arab nation was concerned— and at the time when we needed all kinds of support from our brothers, the Syrian regime, immediately after the nationalisation, itself nationalised the pipelines of the monopoly companies which crossed its territory. However, the companies had handed over all their assets (including the pipelines) to Iraq as laid down in the national decree. From the legal and rational point of view, this behaviour meant that they had nationalised Iraqi property and not that belonging to a foreign company. The regime did not stop there; it even took advantage of the difficult period which we were going through. At the critical moment when all the procedures to ensure the success of the nationalisation and to force the companies to submit to the will of the people and the nation were going on, the Syrians took advantage of this situation to demand an increase in the revenue paid to them by the oil companies before nationalisation. Other attempts were made to hinder the flow of Iraqi nationalised oil, and consequently, the marketing of it. And this at the time when we were fighting a crucial battle against the boycott on nationalised oil imposed by the world monopolies.

Iraq faced up to the situation and demonstrated, by her masterly actions, a high sense of responsibility for the national interest, and a desire to win this fight which would be to Syria's advantage also, since her interests and fortunes are the same as ours.

It is also to be regretted that this hostile regime behaved in a really scandalous manner, in contradiction with the most obvious national considerations, when it began to supply money and arms to the counter-revolutionary rebellion. It provided them with every facility, even going so far as to give them the means and cover to enable them to attack the Iraqi forces from Syrian territory adjoining Iraq.

The last of such acts has been their inhuman and

anti-nationalist decision to cut the water of the Euphrates from three and a half million Arab people who live along the river. The sufferings from this catastrophe were enormous.

All these series of actions which have given us problems, caused us losses and mental anguish are manifestations of hatred, egotism and the rejection of all moral values. They are a menace to international political conventions and ethics. In spite of this we have been patient and skilful and have remained true to our national principles and values, guided as we are by the ideology of our Party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, our commitment to the Arab struggle and our faith in the united destiny and interests of the Arab nation. All that has happened and is still happening, will not alter our principles, affect our actions or commitments towards our Arab people in Syria and in our great homeland. Just as Iraqi officers and men fought on the Golan in October 1973 and defended Damascus, so they will remain, as soldiers of the nation, under the banner of their Party and their Revolution, ready to protect Arab territory and to free the Golan on the way to freeing Palestine.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of the Arab nation,

The past year has been fertile in battles, victories, and fruitful energetic effort in every field. This is proof that your Revolution is a genuine one, strong and capable of realising your hopes and giving body to your aspirations. It is also proof that given normal conditions and a revolutionary leadership which is honest and efficient, the nation and the people are able to overcome all plots and obstacles and to carve out a path which will lead them to their patriotic and national goals.

Your Party, the Party which leads Revolution, guarantees that during the next stage there will be more victorious and epic achievements marking the road

towards our national objectives. During this stage there will be further effort to rebuild the country,... the country of the Revolution and the people, which watches over its children, gives them respect and dignity and unites them under the flag of the leading party on the way to Unity, Freedom and Socialism.

With all the confidence and pride which we have, we must at the same time be modest, for as Iraqis and as Arabs we have considerable struggles and many tasks ahead of us which will require a courageous fight to be able to win.

To-day, at our national celebration which strengthens our resolve, we must not forget that parts of our Arab land are still under occupation and that our historic duty calls us to fight a long and arduous battle to make them free.

I invite you, fellow countrymen... dear sons of the Arab nation... to fight... and to work.

VI

President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr announces the end of the treacherous insurrection in the North of the Country

The full text of the speech delivered by President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr on the 28th anniversary of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party on April 7th 1975.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of our great nation,
People of our glorious Arab nation,

We are addressing you to-day at a moment when an historic event of the greatest importance is taking place. The subsidised reactionary rebellion in the north of the country is finished for ever. Its treacherous leaders have been defeated and have fled the country pursued by the eternal cause of our people. Our valiant armed forces and the administrative authorities are now in complete control of all areas and all frontier posts which were the theatre for the rebellion. Now, thanks to God, peace reigns throughout the whole country.

At this great historic moment and as we commemorate this glorious national occasion, we give thanks to almighty God for the victory which He has given our people and our Revolution.

During fourteen consecutive years, the northern part of our dear country, indeed the whole of Iraq, suffered from turbulence, instability and recurring hostilities...

And now to-day, under the aegis of the July 17th Revolution and its leading party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party with the help of the National Front and the national brotherhood, and by the Grace of God, Iraq is enjoying peace and stability for ever and is forging ahead towards its great objectives.

At this moment of triumph, we do well, brothers, to pause for a while to look back at the road we have trodden and the ground on which we stood. The victory which we have now won does not come as a surprise, nor is it unexpected. Rather it is the natural result of the advance which started on July 17th and 30th 1968 under the leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and is a new link in the chain of its previous achievements and victories.

Ever since its birth, the Revolution of July 17th and July 30th 1968 and its leading party decided to lay down the democratic and progressive foundations to solve the Kurdish problem, to free the people from injustice and to provide them with their national legitimate rights within one country. The Manifesto of March 11th 1970 was integral political formula which embodied this program.

Over the four years between the proclamation of the Manifesto and the promulgation of Autonomy (in March 1974), the Revolution and Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and all loyal citizens were working to apply the clauses of the manifesto and to move forward towards the satisfying of the demands of our Kurdish people for autonomy, towards removing the aftermath of the previous abnormal situation and towards cementing a spirit of national unity and brotherhood among the people.

But the clique which dominated the Kurdish movement and which had pretended to accept the Manifesto of March 1970, began from the very beginning, to sabotage the national unity, intrigue against the Revolution, sow discord and disorder, stir up conspiracies and hinder the course of the Revolution and its progressive democratic achievements. It set itself up in the north as

an oppressive and tyrannical power which subjugated the people, spread corruption, created difficulties for the revolutionary government, and damaged the power of the national movements and all the Iraqi people.

For four years we have had unlimited patience, wisdom and tolerance and have done all that we could to uncover the lies. We have tried extremely hard, with the fine people of Iraq, to open the eyes of this clique to its mistakes and deviationist behaviour and persuade it to join us on the good road to national unity and to protect the interests of the country.

God and the people are our witnesses that we wanted to spare our people and our country from suffering and bloodshed. But this tyrannical clique in the pay of foreigners became more and more reckless and arrogant and sank into even deeper complicity with the colonialist plans. They thought, and persuaded their followers to think, that our attitude stemmed from weakness and our inability to confront them; this had been their experience with previous regimes and was a figment of theirs and their colonialist masters' sick imagination.

When we promulgated the law for Autonomy on March 11th 1974, thereby carrying out the Revolution's noble pledge and on the basis of the full consensus of our people and patriotic movements, this clique rose up against the people's unanimous voice and took up arms, certain of the strong support they would receive from the colonialists. This clearly showed to everybody that the quarrel between the clique and the Revolution and patriotic movements was not just a difference of opinions and interpretations. In fact, the clique was carrying out a large scale imperialist plan aimed against the whole nation of Iraq, its revolutionary government, and the gains achieved by the July 17th Revolution. It was part of a treacherous plan to prevent Iraq from carrying out its national role and to render service to Zionism which had infiltrated the clique and was in alliance with it (there is conclusive material evidence of this). It became, then, the duty of the Revolution and its leading party, as well

as of the patriotic movements to oppose with the utmost determination, the discord spread by colonialism, Zionism and reaction. We therefore decided to liquidate this clique once and for all and to rid the country of its noxious presence at whatever cost. In taking this decision, we were conscious of our national responsibilities and our concern to protect the higher interests of the country and the democratic, progressive revolutionary journey. May God be our witness that our conscience was at ease and we had the certainty of winning the victory.

Brother citizens,

Your Revolution, the Revolution of July 17th and its leading party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, was not deluded by this clique, nor were we surprised by its designs and intentions. So, while trying their best to divert them from the wrong path, the Party leaders visualised the worst and prepared accordingly... They were ready for the day when the colonialists would use their last reserves in the plot to overthrow the Revolution.

The series of Revolutionary victories, and its continual progress towards its natural and patriotic objectives had made it clear to us that the colonialists who had dominated our country, subjugated our people, pillaged their wealth and mocked their capabilities, would not fail to plot against the Revolution by using their reserves one after another in order to keep the region on their leash and to impose their rule over it.

It was clear that colonialism would continue to intrigue against the Revolution by using their last trump card in the form of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, after the following series of events: —the vengeful colonialist forces had, in the past, exhausted a large proportion of their reserves in order to achieve their ends; the famous victory won by the Revolution on nationalisation of oil; the performance during the October war by our valiant

armed forces when, because of the fighting ability and their enthusiasm, they saved Damascus and pushed back the Israeli invasion, changing the balance of strength and the enemy tactics; Iraq's decisive use of oil as a weapon in the battle by nationalising, on the same day that hostilities broke out, the American oil interests.

Colonialism had, for many years, groomed that clique for this particular role. They had provided them with large quantities of sophisticated weapons and huge financial aid and put at their disposal the facilities of their world-wide mass media network as well as their other communication media. Colonialism, the clique as well as a number of others who will be unmasked in the future by the conclusive evidence, thought that their preparatory measures were adequate to destroy the Revolution. But the July 17th Revolution whose leader is the party of the advance guard, the party of the people, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party... and finally this Revolution, relying also on the pillar of the wide patriotic and progressive Front, is quite simply invincible.

The expectations of the colonialists of the criminal clique and of those who played a dubious role in the corridors of power are deceived; the plot has failed. The Revolution, the people and the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party have won. At last, autonomy has been established, and all the worthy patriotic movements have emerged victorious.

Fellow Countrymen,

The battle which has been waged against the traitors' nest has, during the past year, been crucial and hard.

Even though the basic requirements provided by the Revolution for the battle ensured its ultimate success, nevertheless severe and large scale fighting had to be carried out against an enemy to whom colonialism had supplied enormous amounts of the latest weapons and equipment and who was well placed in the broken

terrain in the north. And here we must praise our valiant armed forces who fought with unequalled courage and great effectiveness and who gained both for our army and the Arab armies, valuable military experience. They also fought with a deep and unshakeable faith in the rightness of their cause —to protect the unity of the country and defend the Revolution against colonialist and reactionary intrigues.

The colonialists and leaders of the rebellious clique thought that they were facing an army of the traditional type which did not support the cause for which it was fighting (as was the case under previous regimes). But, unexpectedly, from the very first day they found that they were up against a new type of army... the army of the Revolution, the army of the people, which had invented new tactics for fighting the rebellion, defended itself bravely and with unshakeable faith, and which overcame effectively and courageously the difficulties of the terrain.

Out of the determining factors for the victory was the manner in which our valiant army fought, following the principles of the precise instructions given by the Party leadership. Down to the last detail and in the most difficult situations our valiant armed forces respected the political and humane approach laid down by the Party leadership. Our officers and men alike scrupulously implemented the Party's policy which was to destroy the treacherous clique in order to foil the colonialist plans. The population of the areas under rebel control were fellow countrymen who were subjected to exceptional circumstances and whose lives, self-respect and property must be protected. The entry of the army into each rebel-controlled village was a cause for rejoicing for the inhabitants and a guarantee of their safety and self-respect. We are proud of this feat which is one of the most important of the Party and the Revolution. It is a high point from both the revolutionary, humanitarian and military points of view, in the light of the difficult and

complicated conditions with which we were faced in the north last year.

The frontier guards and national militia bravely and confidently fought at the side of the army. They were also a model of courage, faith and strict political discipline, and together with the army carried out some noteworthy actions.

Let us pay tribute to our brave army and to all those who fought the battle for the honour and unity of the people. Let us pray to God for the souls of the martyrs who died for their people and their country. Let us pray also that their brothers and their country may enjoy peace and stability and that the July 17th Revolution may continue to dedicate itself to them. Our faithful people will always remember with pride and respect the fighters who with great courage and a spirit of sacrifice, showed their love for their country and their concern to safeguard the Revolution's progress for those radiant years in the future which will ensure security, stability, prosperity and success.

Fellow countrymen,

Last month we achieved an important objective in the form of an agreement with our neighbour, Iran, to resolve all the problems between us, taking into account the basic interests of each, in the light of the principles of good neighbourliness and the maintenance of the ancient historical connections between our two peoples.

We have always emphasised our wish to resolve this problem in a peaceful manner. Iran and Iraq adjoin each other; the two peoples have unbreakable religious and historical links extending back over the centuries. Any two peoples and countries linked in this way cannot but overcome their temporary difficulties and establish their relationships on cooperative and good neighbour basis.

It is a pity that our relationships had deteriorated in the past to such an extent. With the complications of the

rebellion in the north, the situation became so grave that war almost broke out between the two countries, a thing which we did not want and even more would not have been in Iran's interests.

Our attitude forms part of a consistent policy, confirmed at the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in December 1974, and which was already contained unequivocally in the declaration by the Revolutionary Command Council on October 7th 1973, immediately after the outbreak of war with the Zionist enemy. Thanks be to God, we have been able to overcome our difficulties and turn over a new page in our relationships which are in the interests of our two people and countries. It is important that tribute now be paid to the Iranian government, our neighbour, who since the treaty was signed on March 6th last has demonstrated its spirit of cooperation in implementing fully all the clauses of the treaty.

The comment should be made here concerning the attitude in certain quarters towards the treaty with Iran and that both direct and indirect methods are being used to criticise it. They are the same who used to openly or covertly say that Iraq was provoking incidents with Iran, and used this excuse to avoid their national obligations. These quarters have made no sincere effort to improve our relations with Iran, rather they sought to take advantage of the previous state of affairs for their own selfish reasons. Trampling upon the most elementary national principles, they insolently denigrated the immense sacrifices made by Iraq and our country's participation in the glorious October war. It was as though they deliberately and continually wanted to weaken Iraq, and minimise her role in the national battle, for purposes contrary to the higher national interest.

Fellow Countrymen,

Thanks should be given to God for the victories we have won and the achievements we have accomplished.

The glorious Revolutionary progress, led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party since July 17th and 30th 1968, goes on, overcoming plots and difficulties and building the road to liberty and progress with confidence and determination.

The new situation, namely the establishment of complete sovereignty, peace and stability throughout the whole country, gives us vast new responsibilities. We must work with perseverance and great energy to consolidate the nation, develop the backward areas and compensate the Kurdish people for all the suffering and misfortune of the last fourteen years. This is a major assignment to which all the fellow countrymen and especially the sons of our Kurdish people must devote themselves. For the Revolution has opened up for them wide opportunities for a secure and worthwhile life within their country. It is up to them to build a bright, happy life for themselves... and to the State administration and patriotic organisations to make special efforts to wipe out all the psychological, social and economic traces left by the sickness which was raging in the north of our dear country in order that they may become an active energetic part of our secure national scene.

Fellow Countrymen,

In its relationship with you your Revolution has always followed a straightforward line that has faith in your Revolution and your abilities and which undertakes to fulfil the promises made to you.

Among all the other factors which led to our conclusive victory over the rebellious and treacherous clique, the fidelity of the Revolution in keeping its promises is one of the most important through its implementation of the policy laid down and in carrying out its historic responsibilities.

About a year ago on March 11th 1974, we promulgated the law for autonomy and set about creating the

legislative and administrative bodies required for its implementation. We also expressed our concern to see this law applied and to work by every means to maintain and preserve it.

As we celebrate this great victory over the clique of traitors, despots and colonial agents who were threatening our national unity, the Iraqi people are closer than ever to the Revolutionary government and are linked together by indissoluble ties.

It was the same as when the Revolutionary government undertook to free them from the monopolists, and kept its undertaking on June 1st 1972 and the victory day of March 1st 1973... the same as when the government promised the people to build an internal solid political front and kept its promise on the eve of the Fifth Anniversary commemoration of the Revolution; on July 17th 1973... the same to-day as the leaders of your Revolution fulfil one of their major promises in finally turning over the black page of the history of the North of our country.

Fellow countrymen,

The tasks we must fulfil in order to provide this beloved region of our country with a worthwhile life, and give its population the same advantages as those provided for the rest of the population during the Revolution's glorious years, are heavy ones and will require great effort, persistence and a deep sense of national responsibility.

We must all make special efforts and give priority to the building and development of this struggling country, the backwardness of which is due to the exceptional circumstances and destructive activities of the tyrannical clique over many years.

But we are sure that if we take as our guide the principles of the Revolution, as the political report of the Eighth Regional Congress and the National Action Charter emphasised... we can revive our country, from

North to South, by large scale energetic action which leads towards progress and prosperity.

Dear fellow countrymen, I offer you my sincere greetings, I congratulate you on the victory which you have won and wish you a happy celebration. The celebration for the victory over the disloyal, hireling clique and therefore the restoration of peace and stability, coincides with the commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of your Party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, which has been leading the national struggle for a quarter of a century. What a happy series of coincidences these are!

I pay tribute to you all and to the famous Party, the makers of the victory.

VII

President Ahmad Hassan Al-Bakr The Revolution and the People

New gains for the people.
National Unity and the Progressive Arab Front.
Foreign Policy in balance.
Consolidation of the Front and Non-alignment.

The full text of the speech delivered by the President of the Republic of Iraq on the 8th Anniversary of the July 17th Revolution.

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Dear fellow countrymen,
Sons of the glorious Arab Nation,

To-day is the 8th Anniversary of your glorious Revolution, the Revolution of July 17th 1968, led by the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party.

This 8th Anniversary, dear brothers, is of great historical and Revolutionary significance. This results not only from the continuity of your Revolution over eight years, but also from the direction it has taken, the level which it has achieved, and its real ability to carry out its development program and forward progress.

This significance, which I mentioned at the beginning, which gives this year a special importance does not only concern our revolutionary experience which has

already passed through several stages, some of them unpleasant, but also all the revolutionary experiences and all the moves to freedom and progress in the Arab homeland and the Third World countries.

The Revolution, organised and led by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, is not content to take over power, consolidate its position, and to see that its foundations are well seated. It has not taken a rigid approach, limited to the original goals and objectives. It is a genuine Revolution with deep roots, guided by the principles, values and history of the Ba'th Party of the Arab Revolution, a Revolution which embodies the ambitions of millions of people in Iraq and in the Arab homeland, and which has a permanent goal of maintaining its rate of progress. To stop at a certain stage, to feel satisfied, to consider the past achievements as adequate, whatever their importance, or, briefly, to allow oneself to have the illusion of tranquility, would be a serious illness which could separate the Revolution from its mainspring and its basic values. It would weaken its resistance to attempts at deviationism and counter-revolution. These ills which the imperialists and renegades seek to spread and exploit have threatened and still threaten the gains and activities of revolutionary and freedom fighting movements in the Arab homeland and the Third World.

The ideological basis of the Revolution of July 17th, the lessons which the Party has learned from its many experiences, the lucid and full analysis which it has made of its past and present experiences in the Arab and Third World has enabled the revolutionary process to become stronger and to create the necessary conditions for further progress.

The great achievements of the Revolution are a source of pride to us all. They represent a series of stages out of which a revolutionary foundation has been established, the character and objectives of which were defined by the Eighth Regional Congress of the Party.

The final elimination through complete nationalisa-

tion of the oil resources, the consolidation of the national economy, the spread, inculcation of national socialist principles, the strengthening of national unity by creating a national progressive front and using the program of this front as the main strategy for action, the resolution of the Kurdish problem in a democratic manner, the building of a strong national army supported by the national and socialist principles of the leader party, the working out of a political approach which encompassed Iraq, the Arab homeland and the world; this has been the progress of the Revolution and of its own choosing. This is how the Revolution will continue by carrying through its national Arab obligations.

Our revolutionary experiment in our militant country has to-day become, after many set-backs, a torch which illuminates the Arab stage; it has the confidence and respect of all Arabs and those who share our interests.

Fellow Countrymen,

The revolutionary duties laid down by the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in 1974 are basic ones; we must continue to persevere in our efforts to accomplish them.

The program of the leading party, which is the quintessence of its revolutionary experience and the expression of the people's militant hopes, is one which has proved its correctness and its necessity. The fundamental interests of the people have been able to be satisfied and the revolutionary progress towards the building of socialism and democracy in the country has gone on. This program will be a starting point and a guideline for the Arab revolutionary movement.

The Revolution, brothers, was not and will never be content with minor changes and superficial reforms. From the beginning, it envisaged radical and total changes to provide the people with a new, advance and prosperous life. The Revolution's development program

has been founded on the principle of growth in every field and the providing of the material means for socialism.

Brothers, this way has not been free of ambushes, difficulties and problems of all kinds. We have been required to be persevering in our acts, to have a methodical, serious approach to our problems, and always patience and self-denial. When one compares the two periods of pre and post Revolution, one can see the enormous achievements of the Revolution under the flag of the leading party thanks to the all-embracing program worked out over the years and on the basis of past experience.

To-day, all Iraq citizens may enjoy the fruits of the Revolution's careful planning. The pride and self-respect which they exhibit results from the improvements in the standard of living, public health and culture for the individual, for families and the various social classes.

The Revolution promised the people a new life, free and honourable, and has never failed to provide these, in the light of what was possible and as the several stages in the transformation and reconstruction of society were concluded.

In each of these stages, the Revolution recorded a step forward. The Revolutionary Command Council passed important legislation guaranteeing equality and safety for everybody, thereby raising the standard of living for large sections of the population. Your Revolution has provided social security for civil servants, salary and wage earners. It has also decided to extend the family allowances of the civil service, office and other workers, to the police, national security, civil servants, frontier guards and traffic police. Salaries and allowances for manual workers are to be substantially increased, to match the increased allowances for engineers. You will be informed of the other decisions later in complete detail.

These decisions, brothers, are further proof of the socially conscious direction which your Revolution is

taking. Everyone should realise that socialism is not something which one adopts and discards later. The establishment of a socialist system is the main aim of the Revolution for which it will continue to fight in order to improve and extend its conditions and opportunities. Socialism, with all its various forms, is no longer a subject for debate. On the other hand, it is desirable and legitimate to debate and research the various choices open to us for the most effective application of the Revolution's principles and which best fits the needs of our society both regionally and nationally.

Brothers!

One of the special characteristics of this Revolution, and which distinguishes it from all the others —and the past years have proved the correctness of its approach—is the honest and courageous relationship it has been able to establish with the mass of the people. This has enabled it to create the national progressive patriotic front and to make progress towards finding a solution to the Kurdish problem.

Your Revolution has chosen the democratic path, relying on the principles of the leading party, and all the people's problems are dealt with in a democratic manner. It has cemented the alliance between all the progressive and patriotic movements on the basis of a long term common program. It has always and under all circumstances, and in spite of the difficulties, supported the front as a fundamental decision and as a means of reaching its soughtafter strategic goals. It is in this way that the Revolution has tackled all its problems in the determination to protect, improve and develop unity within the national front so that the historic tasks, on the local and pan-Arab levels, may be achieved.

Our attitude towards the Kurdish question has always been based on clearly define principles. It was a humanitarian attitude, and all the impossible situations, the knotty problems and the imperialist intrigues have

not changed our attitude towards it. Now stability exists throughout the whole region and national unity is cemented, it is our duty to redouble our efforts to implement the Revolution's program in the autonomous North in order to satisfy the desires of the Kurdish people and carry out the major developments in this region which is so dear to us.

The Revolution draws its strength and continuity from its faith in the basic principles behind its policy, but it never wanted this fait to be used only in difficult and dangerous times, but also during periods of calm and victory.

The Revolution, fellow citizens, has shown and will show in the future, that it always fulfils its obligations. This is the ethic of its approach.

Fellow Countrymen,

The Arab political scene is to-day filled with extremely serious events and changes. The political moves and attitudes against which we have been warning everybody for several years, especially after the October war, are to-day a serious threat to the Arab nation and its causes.

The bloody events which are tearing Lebanon apart are not disconnected with these political moves and attitudes. In spite of the special circumstances and the problems peculiar to this brother country, the degree of seriousness of these bloody struggles are irrefutable proof that they are only a link in a whole chain of struggles. These struggles in the area are between the anti-imperialists, who are rejecting the proposed solutions and suspicious plans, and the imperialists, their agents and all those who collaborate with them, who wish to apply these proposed solutions and plans. From the beginning of these events, the separatists allied with the imperialists have never concealed their intention of liquidating the Palestinian Resistance or, at the least, weakening

and disarming it to make it unable to oppose seriously the imperialist plans.

But during the months of bloody struggle, the Palestinian Resistance has held out with exemplary courage, against the isolationist attacks. The united fighting of the national Lebanese movement and the means to counter the aggression of the isolationists and their allies is the attempt to partition Lebanon, in the likeness of the Zionist, racist and tribal entity in Palestine.

From the beginning of the events, the regime of Assad has been following its usual tortuous policy and gambling on every possibility. Sometimes he pretends to support the Palestinian Resistance and the national Lebanese movement, and comes to their defence. But at the same time, he supports the separatists. We have always opposed this policy and have always stated that its aim can be no other than to sidetrack the Palestinian Resistance and the natural Lebanese movement and to weaken them so that the proposed solution can go ahead. We were certain, from the very beginning, that Assad's regime was one of the main intermediaries in this plan.

We have long opposed the policies and suspect manoeuvrings of this government. We have always considered that the leaders of this government have betrayed their party, their leaders and their comrades, and clearly could not be on the side of our brothers and our friends. Unfortunately there were many who saw in these warnings only a manifestation of our quarrels and our rivalry and who provided support, aid and pretexts to encourage it in its deviationism and insolence. But it has at last taken off its mask and revealed the truth that it is a revisionist regime which is part of the imperialist plot and prepared to commit the most heinous crimes.

The conflict in the Lebanon was a clear one from the beginning. Likewise from the beginning we chose to side ourselves with the Palestinian Resistance and the national Lebanese movement. We should say, also, that we

are in favour of a united Lebanon and in brotherhood between its inhabitants. We have also stated that peace must be established and guaranteed throughout the country.

It was also clear to us that the separatist leaders who have, as is known, always been opposed to freedom movements and to anything Arab, were only exploiting the problems and difficulties of the Lebanese situation in order to follow up the murderous plan prepared for them by the imperialists and Zionists and who provided them with all the facilities to implement it.

It was also clear from the beginning that the double game of Assad's regime contained no political wisdom nor the wish to preserve Lebanese unity or brotherhood between its sons; they were only treacherous manoeuvres, hand in glove with the separatists, to implement the imperialist plot in the region.

The crime of Assad's regime in Lebanon, a crime in which he persists in different forms and by different means, is a principal part of the odious American plot to divide up the region.

The final aim of the attempt to crush the Palestinian Resistance and the national Lebanese movement is to force Lebanon to accept this imperialist proposal, to disarm the resistance completely and consequently compel it to accept the proposal of an «Arab United Kingdom» in a modified form; this would be supervised by the Assad government acting as the imperialist tool for the execution of the project.

The line which would enable us to oppose the project must be based on an overall view of the facts. One must not get lost in detail or be diverted by various attempts at disparagement.

The parties involved in the plot with the Assad regimes at their head, can no longer withdraw. If the turn of events makes it necessary, they will undoubtedly attack again using all forms of diversion and deception. but the greatest threat to the Palestinian Resistance the national Lebanese movement and all progressive Arab

movements is to be once again caught by the moves to sidetrack and disparage them. This has weakened them, will weaken them further and enable the imperialists and revisionists to put their plans into operation and reach their goals.

The policy of disparagement and talking at large followed by the defeatest factions in the Arab homeland, led by the revisionist regime in Damascus, has always been and remains a threat to the Arab cause and the Palestine Resistance movement. It is a threat which is more dangerous than that of the regimes which are openly hostile to them. An open confrontation brings unity and consolidation of one's strength, it induces one to fight, whereas disparagement and deception, on the contrary, divide one's strength, sow confusion in the mind and destroy the militant's initiative.

The progressive Arab movements can now have a clearer idea of some of the aspects of the hostile political plan of the last few years. They must therefore strengthen their determination and their unity in order to prevent all new attempt to divert the people, encircle their resistance and deceive public opinion.

The Arab Peoples Congress held in Baghdad last month, brought together the progressives from all Arab countries. It must become a strong and effective weapon in the fight and enable the progressive movements to see as a whole, the realities of the Arab situation, to analyse it correctly and to keep the initiative in their opposition to the plans and intrigues of the imperialists.

The events in the Lebanon and the criminal part in it of the Assad government must also be analysed. This analysis should help to open up a new phase in the Arab struggle, with a clear picture of the situation and the unshakeable determination of the united progressive movements.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of our glorious Arab nation,

In the circumstances through which the Arab nation and the region are passing, it is our duty to proclaim certain truths:

We have always been opposed to proposals for finding a solution, whatever may be their form and content. We have always said that our attitude was not one of trying to outbid anyone, nor to embarrass our brothers and friends. It is simply the expression of our basic principles and our analysis of the events occurring in the region in relation to the proposals in their various forms only serve, in the end, the plans of the imperialo-Americans who are trying —since the end of the war of October 1973 especially to organise the region in such a way that their immense interests (mainly oil) be safeguarded, that the existence of the Zionist entity be safeguarded, and that the evolution of events and of regimes should be in a direction which favoured the rightest movements and the revisionist allies of American imperialism.

Together with this attitude, which we continue to defend, we constantly, patiently and assiduously are working on cementing the ties of Arab solidarity, on strengthening the Arab front at any level that we consider valid, and protecting the positive gains of this front. In doing so, we have not even excluded the Assad regime, although we know its nature and its intentions very well, and in spite of the often critical attitude it has shown towards us.

This time a year ago, we called for the reopening of the northern front and the liaison of the Iraqi forces side by side with those of Syria in order to carry out their duty for the liberation. We had also asked for the reopening and establishment of other fronts with the enemy, but imposed two conditions on the Assad regime for the following reasons: firstly, because we knew the nature of his regime and its tortuous policies and we

thought it likely that he might use the presence of Iraqi forces on his territory as a card in his own game during the negotiations.

Secondly, we wanted to have an important role on the Syrian front which should be no less than that of the other parties directly concerned. It would then be our right to have a significant influence on the political and military control and the fixing of the objectives of the battle.

Day after day, this point of view was disparaged by the Assad regime. They in fact wanted to withdraw from the fight for liberation and continue with the line of «solutions». Our reasoned view brought us reproaches from some of our brothers whose faithful adherence to the cause is beyond doubt. But they were deceived as to the nature and policies of the Assad regime, and in fact this error of judgement ended up by prolonging the state of confusion in many official and unofficial circles of the Arab progressive movements.

But we were aware of the true nature of the Syrian revisionist regime, its delaying methods and tactics and its attempts to divert people's opinions, and we wanted to do all that we could to support, officially and unofficially the Arab progressive front. We therefore decided to send our armed forces to the war front on the condition that, after they had taken up their positions, the Syrian government should take an unequivocal stand on the subject of proposals for «solutions» and declare its unchangeable support for the fighting road towards freedom for all the occupied Arab territory without any concessions. The decision was passed on to the Syrian leaders, who gave their agreement. The armed forces invaded the Lebanon to attack the Palestinian Resistance. This was the final proof of the revisionist character of the government and its collaboration on the imperialist proposals for a solution.

We are always trying to strengthen the Arab progressive front at all levels; now that the true nature of the Assad regime is clearly apparent, and that there is no

doubt about its collaboration on the proposal for a solution, we think it is more necessary than ever to consolidate this front. Syria, its people and its army, even under the yoke of a group of revisionist and deviationists, will remain faithful to the cause of Arabism, freedom and progress and the fight for the liberation of Palestine.

We once again emphasise that the sure way for the consolidation of Arab unity must be preserved. But from our many experiences we can say in all honesty that this entity must be centered around the positive elements of the various Arab viewpoints so that the nation may accumulate the large number of factors necessary for confronting the plans and intrigues of the imperialist Zionists and also be better able to make the Arab weight felt on the international stage.

But if this solidarity is to be used as a cover under which to take shelter and carry out the imperialist plans, we then have a different attitude and would make each of the parties concerned aware of its responsibilities.

Setting aside those governments whose very nature is different, Iraq maintains relationships with all the countries in the region on a basis of coexistence and cooperation. We do so because we are convinced that everybody benefits and they help in the guaranteeing of security and progress in the region. This is a decision which will not change (and it is our habit to remain true to our political decisions) and on this decision we have tried and are trying to establish positive relations with all countries in the region.

Here, we should comment on an important subject. In accordance with the policy of coexistence and cooperation, we have made a plea for freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf for it is a vital waterway for the countries around it and for the whole world. It is one of the most crucial waterways in the world because the majority of the oil wealth passes through it. In a spirit of complete frankness, we have raised the problem with the countries concerned, for, in order to protect the interests

of the Gulf countries and the rightful interests of the international community, all tension and troubles must be kept out of the area. This requires a consolidation of the various agreements on freedom of navigation, basing them on international law and custom. The Gulf countries should issue a joint declaration guaranteeing freedom of navigation for both those adjoining and all other countries. We hold firm to our position on the matter and categorically refuse any other ruling which might limit, in one way or another, freedom of navigation, which is contrary to international law and custom and recalls unhappy memories of the imperialist pacts and blocks. Iraq will remain firm on this position; our country will tirelessly try to establish the best relations with all parties provided that the fundamental principles of our policy are respected.

Fellow Countrymen,

In international and foreign affairs, our policy based on unchangeing principle has proved its worth and correctness. During the last eight years it has followed a clear direction which is now known to everyone. The Revolution and its objectives have justified our policy in foreign affairs. In spite of difficulties we will continue to follow these policies which are entirely in the basic interests and the future of our people and our homeland, with its desire to consolidate its independance, development and progress and to ward off any possible danger.

We have always unshakeably held the opinion that this direction in foreign affairs and international relations is to the benefit of the Arab nation and its revolutionary movement.

The relationships which some Arab countries maintain with foreign powers are not well thought out; the Arab nation's reputation could be adversely affected and its position weakened in the international community. The relationships of some Arab groups could even pose a

threat to the chief interests of the Arab nation. For these reasons and on account of our responsibilities on the national level, we have felt it necessary to have a distinct coherent, political approach to govern our foreign relationships, carefully distinguishing between our friends and our enemies; this policy is designed to foster normal relations which accord with the legitimate interests and aims of the Arab nation and its struggle to recover the lost territories and to achieve unity and progress.

Revolutionary Iraq over eight years has built up firm and varied relationships with many countries.

Our relations with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union (with whom we have a treaty of friendship and cooperation, signed in 1972, and based upon our common interests and principles) have been strengthened and developed as have the ties of friendship and mutual respect.

We have reinforced our firm relationships with Asian countries, and the free African countries, who like us and our nation have the same aspirations towards democracy and freedom. We have provided aid, without strings, to several of these countries, thus following our political approach of encouraging all rising movements who fight against domination of imperialist monopolies.

We have also built up good relationships with the countries of Latin America; similarly with a number of European countries based on common interests and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. We are always trying to build up European-Arab ties to preserve our common interests and relationships which are not affected by Zionist or American imperialist influence.

In recent years, our good neighbour relations with Turkey and, since March 1975, with Iran have developed. With this neighbour we have recently been able to resolve the outstanding problems between us in such a way that our mutual interests are safeguarded and the basis for stability and a fruitful cooperation in the region laid down.

On a larger scale, the revolutionary government has

pursued with determination its opposition to colonialism, imperialism and apartheid, and has supported with the means at its disposal national liberation movements throughout the world and the struggles of people against racial discrimination.

This year is especially important in international affairs. In a month's time the non-aligned countries are organising a summit meeting. This meeting will be of the utmost importance for the peoples of these countries and for the whole international community.

Non-alignment has over the years become an essential policy for the preservation of peace and stability in the world, and one which enables newly independent countries to consolidate their freedom.

We have supported this policy with all our strength, and expended great effort to prepare this summit meeting and thereby increase the weight of the non-aligned countries internationally, and thus of the policy of non-alignment on the overall international stage.

We hope that this summit meeting will be crowned with success as we anticipate, that it will take decisions and adopt policies to strengthen non-alignment, and to indicate clearly how it is able to fight specifically against imperialism, Zionism, racial discrimination and aggression.

Fellow Countrymen,
People of our fighting Arab nation,

Your Revolution of July 17th, has during its progress held firmly to its unifying and socialist policies; it has been able to resist imperialism and reactionary forces; it has made great steps forward in the fields of politics, economics and sociology. The proof is tangible and irrefutable; the movements for revolution, freedom and progress in our Arab homeland are alive and active, able to take the initiative, to win victories when they decide to fight, to follow an approach firmly based on principle, to

follow unchanging policy and to resist attempts at deviation, disparagement and making bargains.

The imperialists and reactionaries are trying to arrest the course of history by using the carrot and the stick. But we are sure of our ability and for the ability of the progressive Arab movements in the nation to resist these attempts and to prove that the Arab nation, having found itself in cutting a road towards rebirth and freedom, will never bow to the plans of the imperialists and revisionists, no matter how strong and Machiavellian they may be.

The period which our nation is going through, fellow countrymen, is a serious one on our way to freedom, progress and unity. We must redouble our vigilance in the struggle against intrigue. And we are certain of victory.

The fighters, Palestinian and Lebanese, who are courageously resisting the fire from the separatists and armed revisionist movements of Assad, are a confirmation of this truth. There are some who want to persuade us that the criminal revisionists are the sons of the nation and hold our destiny in their hands; we reply to them that the nation's true sons, who control its destiny are the brave fighters in the Lebanon, although they are faced with violent attack and confront hatred and treachery on a large scale. We salute these fighters who maintain the honour of the nation and raise the banner of struggle and resistance.

Similarly I offer my respectful greetings to our intrepid forces stationed at the frontiers and to all the armed forces who only await the signal to fulfil their national duty for liberation.

Our armed forces, accustomed to the fulfilment of our promises, know our socialist policies and hope to be able to liberate Palestine; they have always had the confidence of the people and the nation as well as that of the leading party. They have never retreated in the face of any sacrifice or spared any effort for the natural cause.

The brave soldiers, officers and non-coms waiting now on the frontiers for the liberation fight —Golan already knows them and Sinai knows that they are the fearless defenders of the Arab cause.

In the October war, they had the great honour of saving Damascus from Zionist occupation. Palestine saw them earlier on. Even though the revisionists who are in the plot and who hold the reins of power in Damascus defame our brave army and join together against them, the people of Arab Syria, the Syrian Arab army recognises perfectly well that they are their brothers; they know that they are there to fight their cause at their side; to free the occupied territories on the road to the liberation of Palestine.

Many greetings, then, to these brave Arab fighters who are answering the call of their nation, many greetings to all fighting Arabs.

May our nation win the victory in our just fight!

I thank you one and all.

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